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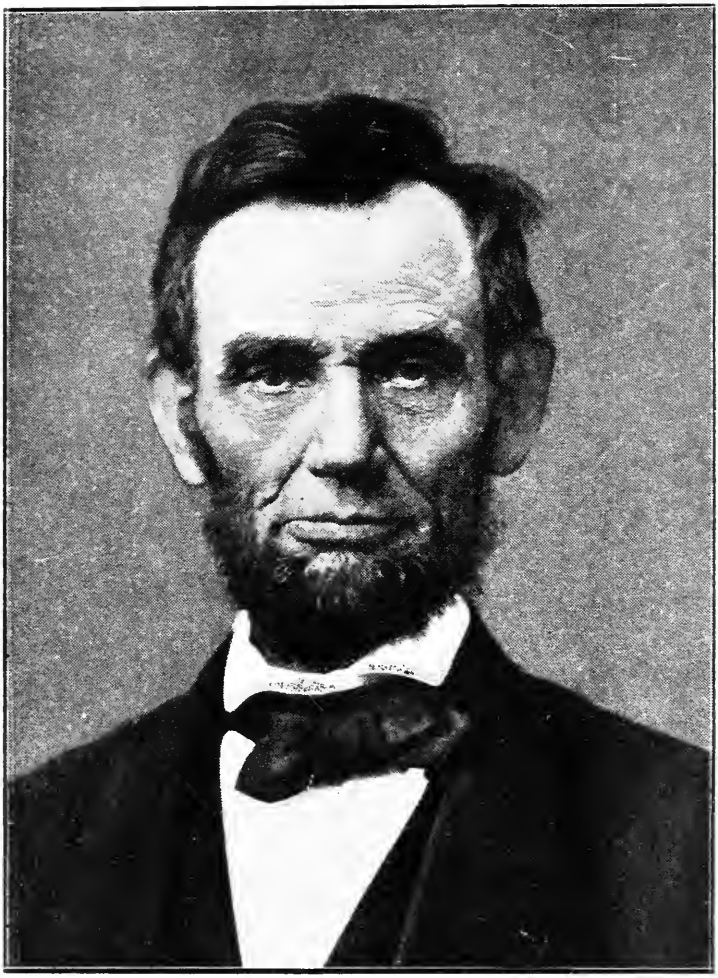

"O slow to smite and swift to spare,
Gentle and merciful and JUST!
Who, in the fear of God, didst bear
The sword of power—A NATION'S TRUST!"

— WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

SUPPOSED DIARY OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN

From the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 Until April 14, 1865

By MILTON R. SCOTT
A UNION SOLDIER OF THE CIVIL WAR

Where there is no VISION the people perish.—PROVERBS XXIX, 18

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, LIBERTY and the pursuit of happiness, and that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

NEWARK, OHIO
1913

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting place of the men who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, WE can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be here dedicated to the unfinished work, which they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is for us rather to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain — that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE AND FOR THE PEOPLE SHALL NOT PERISH FROM THE EARTH!

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LETTER TO MRS. BIXBY OF BOSTON, MASS.

WASHINGTON, November 21, 1864.

Dear Madam:—I have been shown on the files of the War Department a statement from the Adjutant General of Massachusetts, that you are the mother of five sons, who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine, which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I can not refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement and leave you the cherished memory of the loved and lost and the SOLEMN PRIDE that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom. Yours sincerely, A. LINCOLN.

COLUMBUS, OHIO:
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1913

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"THE FIRST AMERICAN."

Nature, they say, doth dote,
And can not make a man,
Save on some worn-out plan,
Repeating us by rote.
For HIM her old-world moulds aside she threw,
And, choosing sweet clay from the breast
Of the unexhausted West,
With stuff untainted, made a hero new,
Wise, steadfast in the strength of God—and TRUE.

* * * *

How beautiful to see
Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed,
Who loved his charge, but never loved to lead;
One whose meek flock the people joyed to be,
Not lured by any cheat of birth,
But by his clear-grained human worth,
And brave old wisdom of SINCERITY!

* * * *

His was no lonely mountain-peak of mind,
Thrusting to thin air o'er our cloudy bars,
A sea-mark now, now lost in vapor's blind;
Broad-prairie rather, genial, level-lined;
Fruitful and friendly for all human kind;
Yet also nigh to Heaven and loved of loftiest stars!

* * * *

Our children shall behold his fame;
The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American!

—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

There was the roughness of the frontier upon Mr. Lincoln; his clothes hung unthought of on his big angular frame; he broke often, in the midst of the weightiest affairs of state, into broad and boisterous humor; he did his work with a sort of careless heaviness, as if disinclined to action; but there was a SINGULAR GIFT OF INSIGHT in him from early boyhood. He had been bred in straitened, almost abject poverty; and yet he had made even that life yield him more than other boys get from formal schooling. He had made a career for himself in Illinois, culminating in his debates with Douglas, debates to which the whole country PAUSED TO LISTEN; and he was ready to be President by the time he became President. He called Mr. Seward and Mr. Chase, the accepted leaders of his party, into his cabinet; but he himself determined the course and policy of his administration.—WOODROW WILSON.

SUPPOSED DIARY OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN

CHAPTER I.*

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT.—VISION OF MOSES AND WASHINGTON.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Sunday, January 1, 1854.—I have never been in the habit of raking up my past life on New Year's day and forming a series of good resolutions in reference to my future conduct, but this morning I awoke several hours before sunrise and could not go to sleep again for reflecting on my past and wondering what my future is to be. I attended the usual services at the Presbyterian church, of which my wife is a member, in the hope of getting relief from the thoughts and reflections that were oppressing me, but heard instead a very earnest discourse from the text, "Be Strong and of a Good Courage." While the sermon was addressed to people in all conditions of life, and I had no reason to suppose that Dr. Smith had me in his mind, my reflections of the morning were greatly intensified and continued with me throughout the rest of the day, so that I could do little else but review my past and strive in vain to forecast my future.

I suppose I may consider myself a successful, if not a highly distinguished lawyer, and I have every reason to believe that the firm of Lincoln and Herndon will have as large a practice in the future as we desire; but I must confess that the practice of law has failed to give me the complete satisfaction that I wish. My legal reputation is certainly as good as I deserve, and the respect and good will that I have obtained from the people of Springfield and

* U. S. Senator Cullom, of Illinois, to whom this first chapter was submitted, says of it, "Much of the article is substantially Lincoln's own words, as I remember them."

The author of this book, however, lays no claim to an imitation of Mr. Lincoln's peculiar style of speech and composition; he only hopes that he has revealed the mind and soul of the great President in some measure at least.

other parts of the state is something that I prize very highly; but there are times when in spite of my professional success and reputation, my life seems almost useless, and I long for a chance to do something that will give me more complete satisfaction and earn a reputation that posterity will always cherish. Ever since my youthful days I have had friends to flatter me that I would some day occupy a distinguished position in the world, some of them going so far as to say that I would live to be President of the United States; and Mrs. Lincoln has frequently declared that I would yet be a greater man than Douglas before I died, and that I was more likely to be elected President than he was; but if I have ever cherished such hopes and ambitions myself, they seem far enough from being realized. I have always been more or less active in politics, and I can truly say that I have tried to serve the whole people as well as to build up the Whig party and gratify my own ambition; but my political career—if I may claim to have had such a career—has been an almost complete disappointment and failure. Four terms in the Illinois Legislature and one term in Congress tells the whole story—and to how little purpose or profit. I stumped it for Gen. Harrison in 1840 and greatly rejoiced in his victory over Van Buren, but his early death and the course of Tyler's administration deprived us of all the fruits of our victory. I also stumped the state for Henry Clay in 1844, and had to share in the pain and mortification which came to all his supporters at seeing him defeated by a man like James K. Polk. In the Taylor campaign of 1848, I was again a candidate for elector-at-large on the Whig ticket, and although we could not carry Illinois for old Zach., we had the satisfaction of seeing Gen. Cass defeated and our candidate placed in the White House. I have always believed that Taylor's death was a great loss to the country, especially when I remember the firm stand he took in favor of the admission of California as a free state without any compromise or concession to the slave states. If he had lived, I can not help thinking the Whig party would have carried the election of 1852 and would now be in control of the government instead of being so near bankruptcy as we seem. I was again placed on the Whig electoral ticket in 1852; but all my efforts to sustain my own interest in General Scott, the conqueror of Mexico,

and to secure votes for him were in vain. And ever since the election of Pierce by so large a majority of both the popular and the electoral vote, I have felt very little hope for the Whig party to which I have been so fondly attached. In fact, I can hardly see any future for it and no political future for myself. Clay and Webster are both dead, and no leaders have risen to take their place. The country does not want another National Bank; and the discovery of California gold has so stimulated business that there is very little complaint over the low tariff of 1846, so it would be useless for us to enter the next presidential campaign with the same platform on which we have previously stood.

And even if the Whig party is not as dead as the Democrats claim it is, the Democratic majority is so great in Illinois and Douglas has such a hold on the people, that there seems to be no chance for me in the political field.

I am not a subscriber to Garrison's Liberator, but a friend in Boston occasionally sends me a copy which I am pretty sure to read in whole or in part. While I think he is engaged in a hopeless crusade and fear that the agitation of the Slavery question by him and other abolitionists is doing more harm than good, I can not help admiring his courage and sincerity. I have not yet read Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," but I can see that it is having a great influence on the minds of the Northern people—and who can tell what the result of all the agitation will be? We Whigs followed the example of the Democrats and declared in our platform of 1852 that the compromise measures of 1850 were a final settlement of the slavery question, but the feeling against the fugitive slave law is constantly increasing, and the difficulty of enforcing it in the northern states becomes more and more apparent. Still as slavery is a state and not a national institution, I do not see how the Free Soil party can ever hope to secure its abolition except through the actions of the states where it now exists.

My own view has always been that the institution is so contrary to the Declaration of Independence which I have always so highly revered, and in fact so contrary to all the principles on which our government was founded, that if its extension into our territories could be prevented, the Southern states would eventually realize its injustice and bad policy and provide for its extinction. Happily the gen-

eral government has already prohibited it north of the compromise line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, north latitude, so that the great northwest or "Platte country" now occupied by Indian tribes will in the course of future years be inhabited by settlers devoted to freedom and free soil from all parts of the country, and we may therefore hope that the friends of slavery will have to be satisfied with its present limits, if they do not see the wisdom of providing for its extinction. I have heard it predicted by some of my pro-slavery acquaintainces in Illinois that the Missouri compromise of 1820 will some day be repealed; but I can not think it possible that Congress will ever pass such a measure, or that any President will ever give it his approval.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., January 2, 1854.—Last night I dreamed I was again a boy of ten years, standing by the bedside of my dying mother; and as she laid her hand on my head, she said to me in tones so clear that the sound of her voice still remains in my ear: "Abe, I have always taught you to be a good boy, and you have always been a good boy to me, and now I want to tell you that you must grow up to be A GOOD AND STRONG MAN, so that when I look down on you from my home in heaven, I will feel very proud to know I was the mother who gave you birth."

Then my dream suddenly changed, and I was a full grown man at the foot of a steep mountain on the summit of which I could clearly see the faces and forms of Moses and Washington, as they beckoned me to climb the mountain and stand beside them. It was a hard and painful ascent and severely taxed both my patience and my strength; but when I reached the rock on which they stood, each of them gave me a cordial grasp of his hand, and after speaking my name, suddenly disappeared from my sight. Then I awoke and have tried in vain to answer the question why, even in a dream Moses, the deliverer of a race from slavery, and Washington, the father of his country, should thus recognize me by name and invite me to stand beside them on the summit of so high a mountain.

CHAPTER II.

Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Springfield, January 6, 1854.—I notice in a Chicago paper that Judge Douglas, as chairman of the Senate Committee on territories, has introduced a bill for the organization of the Nebraska territory, accompanying it with the statement that his committee did not feel called on to discuss the controverted questions whether Congress had any rightful authority to legislate on the subject of slavery in the territories and whether the constitution secured the right of every citizen to take slave property as well as all other kinds of property into the territories; but at the same time his report contains the wholly new proposition that the compromise measures of 1850 are to be considered as based on the principle that all questions pertaining to slavery are to be left to the people of the territories acting through their chosen representatives. What Douglas proposes to do with the Missouri Compromise of 1820 does not appear in either his bill or his accompanying report; but I think he will have to meet that question one way or the other before he secures action on his bill by either the Senate or the House of Representatives.

Springfield, January 20, 1854. — It has come to pass as I expected; Douglas will have to recognize the Missouri Compromise as the fixed law of the country or provide for its repeal in his bill. Senator Dixon, of Kentucky, although a Whig, has given notice that when Douglas' bill comes before the Senate for action, he will offer an amendment providing that the provision in the Missouri Compromise of 1820 prohibiting slavery in all the territory of the Louisiana Purchase north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, shall not apply to the territory contemplated in this act, which would virtually repeal the Missouri Compromise and open the Nebraska territory to the institution of slavery. This will be a hard question for Douglas to decide, and whatever decision he may make will have a very important bearing for better or worse on his presidential aspirations and his political future, and also on the welfare of the country. Only a year or so ago he declared the Missouri Compromise a binding contract;

but no one can tell whether he will adhere to that view, if he is led to think it will conflict with his presidential aspirations.

SPRINGFIELD, January 25, 1854.—The die is cast so far as Douglas is concerned. He has accepted Dixon's amendment and reported a bill repealing the Missouri Compromise. His new bill provides for two territories, one lying directly west of Missouri to be known as Kansas, and the northern portion to be known as Nebraska. With reference to slavery he declares in his bill that it is based on the principles established by the compromise measures of 1850, and that the "true intent and meaning of the act is not to legislate slavery into any territory or State of the United States or to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way—"subject only to the Constitution of the United States." And yet neither Douglas nor any supporter of his bill could find anything in the compromise measures of 1850 denying the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in any territory or establishing any principle or policy for any other territories but Utah and New Mexico, in which the question of slavery was left for the decision of their inhabitants.

A fatal defect in his bill is that it does not state whether the people of Kansas and Nebraska may determine the question of slavery while under a territorial government, or must wait until they frame a constitution and are admitted into the Union as states. Rumor has it that Douglas and the Southern leaders have mutually agreed to let this question be decided by the Supreme Court, and that herein lies the significance of the clause, "subject only to the Constitution of the United States." What breakers ahead there may be for Douglas on this issue Heaven only knows. To me it seems that he is only treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath for himself and his party.

SPRINGFIELD, February 12, 1854.—This is my forty-fifth birthday; and having no cases on hand that demanded immediate attention, I have lain on the lounge in our office and given myself up to pretty much the same reflections that occupied my mind on New Year's day, and to some extent ever since. At last I have reached what is supposed to be the prime of life, and although my health is good, I must

face the fact that henceforth I will have to travel the down grade in physical vigor. Besides the ambition I have always cherished in some measure, I have often longed to render some service to the country that would give me the satisfaction of making my life truly useful and would be gratefully remembered by the people when I am no more on the earth. At this time I am almost "possessed" with the desire to do something that would prevent the passage of Douglas' Nebraska bill by Congress. But as I am not a member of either the Senate or the lower house of Congress, alas I can do nothing. So I can only console myself with the reflection that if it becomes a law I will be in no manner responsible for the evil results that will surely follow.

SPRINGFIELD, February 28, 1854.— And so our State Legislature has adopted a resolution indorsing Douglas' Nebraska bill, although when they first assembled less than half a dozen members were in favor of it. But under the party lash and Douglas' personal influence the Democratic majority (as far as their influence extends) have made themselves parties to this great wrong, if Divine Providence permits it to be consummated.

SPRINGFIELD, March 4, 1854.— It is only a year since President Pierce congratulated the country on the final settlement of the slavery question by the compromise measures of 1850, and only three months since in his annual message he gave us the most positive assurance that the agitation of this question would never be reopened by any act of his administration; and yet last night—at THE FIT HOUR OF MIDNIGHT!—a Democratic Senate passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill repealing the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and opening the territories of Kansas and Nebraska to the institution of slavery by the decisive vote of thirty-seven to fourteen. It is hardly likely the Senate would have done this without a promise from Pierce that he would sign the bill, if it also passes the House; but we can only wait and see.

I have been much interested in reading the debates on this bill and the arguments urged against it by Seward, Chase, Wade, Sumner and others. I am not sure that I could have added anything to their points, but the desire to participate in the debate and show the country the fallacy of Douglas' "popular sovereignty" doctrine has been

very great, and it has been hard for me to see a measure so contrary to the principles of our government adopted by the Senate, while I had no opportunity to raise my voice against it. I still have hope that the House will vote it down; but the power of the administration is very great; and no one can tell how far it will be exercised to carry through this measure of Senator Douglas without regard to its effect on the peace and welfare of the country.

SPRINGFIELD, May 25, 1854. — After considering Douglas' bill nearly three months, the House of Representatives finally passed it by a vote of one hundred and thirteen to one hundred and ten, and it has been duly signed by President Pierce, notwithstanding all his pledges to do nothing that would reopen the agitation of the slavery question. It is some satisfaction to learn that as many as forty-four Northern Democrats voted against this bill and not one Northern Whig in favor of it.

I have always been slow to attribute improper motives to my political opponents; but if Pierce was sincere in the promises he made in his Inaugural and in his annual message to Congress, HIS HAND MUST HAVE SHOOK AND HIS KNEES SMOTE TOGETHER when he wrote his name in approval of this bill. And how blind he must be to its effect on his administration and his party. I have never claimed any "gift of prophesy," but I may safely predict that Pierce's own party will be too wise in their generation to nominate him for President in 1856.

SPRINGFIELD, June 20, 1854. — Ever since the passage of Douglas' Nebraska bill I have been wondering what he thinks of his achievement and what his forecast of his political prospects may be. Knowing his great ambition to be President, I have not been greatly surprised at his efforts to please the Democratic leaders of the slave states; but he certainly fails to appreciate the righteous indignation which his measure has aroused in the North, and how can he hope to be elected by the South alone? Only last night I dreamed I saw him riding a magnificent steed and going forth to do battle at the head of an army with drums beating and colors flying. But in the effort to make a movement against the enemy he was fighting, he suddenly approached a deep ditch into which he and his horse both fell, when his army quickly scattered in all directions and

left him to his fate. "Such stuff as dreams are made of," 'tis true, but why should such a dream come to me in the dead hours of the night?

Springfield, June 24, 1854.—Have just written a letter to my good friend Joshua Speed, who formerly lived in Springfield but now lives in Louisville, Kentucky, in which I freely expressed my views on the slavery question. I also reminded him of our steamboat trip from Louisville to Cairo in the year 1841 and of the impression that was made on my mind by seeing a number of negro slaves on the boat chained together and carried as mere frieght on their way to the southern market. I would certainly be an anti-slavery man and would oppse the extension of the institution into our free territory, if I knew no more of its evil character than I saw on that trip.

Speed generously gave me office room and bedroom over his store in Springfield when I was admitted to the bar in the year 1836, and our relations ever since have ever been the most cordial and friendly, but I do not think he realizes as I do the extent to which Congress has departed from the fundamental principles of the government in the passage of Douglas' Nebraska bill.

CHAPTER III.

"Freedom National, Slavery Sectional."

Springfield, July 4, 1854. — Our national birthday is being celebrated throughout the State in the usual manner, but there are fears and forebodings in many people's minds that can not be concealed or denied. Here in Springfield and generally in the northern part of the state the anti-Nebraska sentiment seems overwhelming; but in the southern portion the prevailing sentiment is very different. We Whigs have been in quite a pickle, not knowing whether we had better try to maintain our organization and nominate our own candidates for Congress and the Legislature or join hands with the anti-Nebraska Democrats and try to secure the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line by electing men who are opposed to Douglas' bill. For my own part I would willingly surrender all my devotion to the Whig party, if I could make myself in the least degree effective in securing a Legislature that would elect an anti-

Nebraska man to the United States Senate in place of James Shields, who voted for the Nebraska bill against his better judgment in order to please Douglas, and also effective in sending an anti-Nebraska delegation to the lower house of Congress that would undo the work of Richardson and the other Democratic members of our delegation. But if we make a fusion with the anti-Nebraska Democrats, there are some pro-slavery Whigs who will vote the Democratic ticket. However, I am hopeful there will be enough anti-Nebraska men in both parties who will put principle above party and overturn the Democratic majority in the State. And it now looks as if the same result will be secured in other Northern States. The Free Soil party, whose influence I have generally regarded as more useful to the pro-slavery cause than to anti-slavery, seem willing to give up their party organization and assist in the election of anti-Nebraska men to Congress. The 150,000 votes they gave to John P. Hale in 1852 can not fail to turn the scale in many states.

SPRINGFIELD, July 6, 1854. — Herndon and I are frequently taken to task by our fellow-lawyers for making such low charges for our services, and being so "easy" in collecting our fees; but it is simply impossible for me to have any ambition about amassing riches for myself beyond what is necessary for the support of my family and a reasonable provision against old age. If I had always charged such fees as most other lawyers charge, I might by this time have been able to call myself a rich man, but what satisfaction would that be to me? What is large wealth, anyhow, BUT A SUPERFLUITY OF THE THINGS WE DON'T NEED? And I have sometimes thought it was chiefly valuable as a means of keeping other people from getting the things they do need.

And I have noticed that while the all-wise Creator allows some people to obtain a very large portion of the earth's riches while others can hardly secure the necessities of life, it seems to me He does not permit the rich to secure greater happiness than the poor as a rule.

I also hold that lawyers as well as doctors and ministers should consider themselves public servants and should not refuse to appear in court in any case of clear merit, even if they have no hope of obtaining their fees.

SPRINGFIELD, July 8, 1854. — In pursuance of a call signed by more than ten thousand voters, the anti-Nebraska men of Michigan met "under the oaks" at Jackson in that state two or three days ago and organized themselves as a party under the name of "Republican." After demanding the restoration of the Missouri Compromise and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, they proceeded to nominate a full state ticket with Kinsley S. Bingham at its head as their candidate for Governor. If a new party is to be formed for the conflict that is before us I know no better name for it than the one they chose.

SPRINGFIELD, August 10, 1854. — Notwithstanding the large majority Pierce received over Scott in Iowa in 1852, the election recently held in that state resulted in a decided anti-Nebraska victory, Mr. Grimes being elected Governor by a handsome majority. I am hoping, perhaps hoping against hope, for a similar result in Illinois in November; but I can not expect so complete a revolution, as there are so many emigrants from the South in the Southern part of the state to which we have given the name of "Egypt."

SPRINGFIELD, October 10, 1854. — The election of James Pollock, the Whig and anti-Nebraska candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, with a majority of anti-Nebraska congressmen in that state and Indiana, in addition to the election of an entire anti-Nebraska delegation in Ohio by a majority of 3,000 and over in each district, gives me great satisfaction and increases my hope of an anti-Nebraska victory in Illinois in November. I am aware, however, that the result in these states, particularly in Ohio, was largely due to the "Know Nothing" organization, WHOSE SECRET OATHS AND PROSCRIPTION ON ACCOUNT OF RELIGION OR FOREIGN BIRTH I CAN NEVER INDORSE. Whatever principles or measures I advocate, I want to do everything in the full light of day and before the eyes of all the people; for I hold that to proscribe any man on account of his religion or his foreign birth is contrary to the Declaration of Independence and to all my notions of justice and fairness.

PEORIA, ILLS., October 16, 1854. — Douglas spoke at this place for three hours today in defense of his Nebraska bill and his doctrine of popular sovereignty, — which doctrine, when duly interpreted means that if one man wants

to make a slave of another man, no third man has a right to object — and I replied this evening in a speech of about the same length in an address which I had prepared with considerable care and study. I know full well that I have no such gifts of oratory as Douglas has; but the attention and appreciation of the people were very gratifying, and at the close Douglas himself told me my arguments against his bill were harder to answer than any he had encountered in the United States Senate. I did not, however, tell him how I longed to be a member of the Senate and to participate in the debates on his bill when it was before that body.

My friends all tell me that my speeches in this campaign are more effective than any they ever heard in previous campaigns. I suppose this is because I am seeking to convince them, and I believe I am convincing most of them, that the passage of the Nebraska bill was a great WRONG, and not merely an unnecessary and unwise measure.

SPRINGFIELD, October 20, 1854. — The recent anti-Nebraska state convention held in this place was composed of Whigs, Democrats and Free Soilers united in their determination to oppose the further extension of slavery and to secure the election of an anti-Nebraska senator in place of Shields and the election of as many anti-Nebraska representatives as possible in the state. It seemed rather strange for me to act in a political convention with men to whom I have always been opposed in political matters; but as we have a common purpose we found no great difficulty in putting our heads together and nominating a candidate for Governor and other state offices. We passed a series of resolutions declaring FREEDOM NATIONAL, AND SLAVERY SECTIONAL, and pledging ourselves to resist its extension into the territories of the United States. Since the convention was held my friends have prevailed on me to accept a nomination for Representative in our State Legislature; so after six years' retirement, willy or nilly, I am a candidate for office and in politics again.

CHAPTER IV.

"THEY ALSO SERVE WHO ONLY STAND AND WAIT."

SPRINGFIELD, November 10, 1854.— The returns of our

state election are all in, and I am chosen one of Sangamon county's representatives in our State Legislature by some six hundred majority. Although the Democracy have re-elected Gov. Matteson, we anti-Nebraska men have secured five of our nine Congressmen and a small majority in the Legislature, so that we are sure to elect an anti-Nebraska Senator in Shields' place. A great many friends have told me that my speeches in reply to Douglas have made me the leader of the anti-Nebraska forces in the state and that I am clearly entitled to this honor. I take it that no man owns a public office or can claim to deserve one until he gets it by due process of law; but a seat in the Senate where I could hope to effectively oppose the extension of slavery would gratify my ambition beyond the power of words to express. I have no doubt that a large majority of the anti-Nebraska men elected to the Legislature will be for me, but I fear there will be a few Democrats among them who can not be induced to vote for as staunch a Whig as I have always been. Moreover, I will have to resign my seat in the Legislature before I am eligible to an election according to the constitution of Illinois. My resignation of a seat in the Legislature, I may safely assume, would work no injury to the state of Illinois or to myself.

SPRINGFIELD, February 9, 1855.—The two houses of our Legislature assembled in joint convention yesterday to choose a United States Senator in place of Shields. I would have been chosen by two majority if all the anti-Nebraska men had voted for me; but a small number of anti-Nebraska Democrats persisted in voting for Lyman Trumbull, and after eight or nine ballots had been taken I saw that I had no chance, and in order to prevent the election of Gov. Matteson, I advised my friends to vote for Judge Trumbull and thereby secured his election. Great as is my disappointment, I have the satisfaction of knowing that by my withdrawal I prevented the election of Gov. Matteson and secured the election of a very able opponent of slavery extension to represent our state in the United States Senate during the coming six years. I have never claimed to be free from personal ambition in politics, but my supreme purpose is to promote the cause of freedom, even if I have to sacrifice myself in the contest.

Last Sunday I heard a sermon on the life of Moses, in which the preacher dwelt at some length on the fact that this great leader had to spend forty years as a shepherd in the wilderness before he was prepared to enter on his great task; and at the close of his sermon he quoted from the poet Milton:

> "God doth not need
> Either man's works or His own gifts. Who best
> Bear His mild yoke, they serve Him best. His state
> Is kingly; thousands at His bidding speed,
> And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
> THEY ALSO SERVE WHO ONLY STAND AND WAIT."

Can it be possible that these lines of the great poet have any special application to my case?

I did not go to bed last night until after midnight for pondering on my defeat and schooling myself to bear it without being discouraged for the sake of our cause. Soon after I fell asleep I once more dreamed that I saw Moses and Washington on the summit of a great mountain beckoning me to come up and stand beside them. This time the ascent seemed much more tedious and difficult than before, but each of them grasped me firmly by the hand and said to me in a voice that thrilled my wearied frame from head to foot:

"They also serve who only stand—and WAIT."

Would that I could find another prophet Daniel to give me the meaning and interpretation of this dream!

CINCINNATI, OHIO, March 10, 1855. — I made my appearance in the United States Court in this "Queen City of the West" yesterday as one of three attorneys for the defense in the case of McCormick vs. Manny; but as there were only two attorneys on McCormick's side, the court was only willing to hear from two on our side. This was quite a disappointement to me as I had spent a great deal of time in preparing for the case and wanted to make a reply to Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, who is one of the most distinguished lawyers in the country. But EDWIN M. STANTON, of Steubenville, in this state, who was our senior counsel, not only declined to insist on my being heard, but seemed to have so much confidence in his own ability and so little in mine that he even failed to show me the respect

and courtesy that were due an associate counsel. But this did not prevent my appreciating his great ability and wishing it could be employed in our struggle against the extension of slavery. Also — I know not why — as I sat and listened to Mr. Stanton's clear and effective argument, the question arose in my mind whether I should ever meet him again under such circumstances that he would give me the courtesy and respect that he denied me on this occasion!

SPRINGFIELD, August 1, 1855. — At the demand of Jefferson Davis, his Secretary of War, President Pierce has removed Gov. Reeder, of Kansas, on account of his unwillingness to sustain the Border Ruffian efforts to make Kansas a slave state. Wilson Shannon, a former Governor of Ohio, who has taken Reeder's place, is said to be a pro-slavery man; but I can not think he will be willing to do the bidding of the desperate men who are seeking to extend the institution of slavery over this fair territory. And unless he does comply with their demands and indorse all their acts, he may expect the same fate that has overtaken Governor Reeder.

SPRINGFIELD, August 15, 1855. — In a rather gloomy mood, which I hope will not continue with me very long, I have just written to my friend, George Robertson, of Lexington, Kentucky, that there is no peaceful extinction of slavery in prospect for us, and that the autocrat of all the Russias will resign his crown and declare his subjects free Republicans before our American masters will give up their slaves. And then I added: "Our political problem now is, can we, as a nation, continue together permanently, half slave and have free? May God in His mercy superintend the solution."

I should certainly despair of this Republic, if I did not believe that the same God who carried our fathers through the Revolution still lives, and that in some way that we know not He will direct us in the solution of this problem.

SPRINGFIELD, September 10, 1855.— I feel satisfied— I am almost satisfied—that if the settlement of Kansas could be allowed to take its natural course, it would become a free state; but the slaveholders of Missouri, encouraged and stimulated by the politicians and slaveholders of other southern states, have shown a determination to establish slavery within the territory, even if they have to do it by

force. In fact, under the leadership of Senator D. R. Atchison, they have systematically organized for that purpose, and are making the most serious threats against any settlers who may oppose their plans.

On the other hand, an "Emigrant Aid Society" has been formed in Massachusetts to encourage and assist emigration from New England into the new territory. But as Missouri lies contiguous to Kansas, Atchison and his followers have all the advantage on their side. God only knows what the final result will be.

SPRINGFIELD, October 12, 1855. — I have been very much gratified by the election of Salmon P. Chase as Governor of Ohio, for although I have no personal acquaintance with him, from my knowledge of his record in the United States Senate, I consider him a man of very superior ability and a truly earnest and devoted opponent of slavery extension. There are some intimations that he has his eye on the presidential nomination next year — but the presidency seldom comes to those who seek it too hard.

DECATUR, ILLS., February 22, 1856 — At a meeting of the anti-Nebraska editors of the state held here to-day, a resolution was adopted recommending the holding of a state convention at Bloomington on the coming 29th of June for the nomination of a state ticket and the more complete organization of the Republican party in the state. In the course of the address which they invited me to deliver at their evening banquet, I took occasion to inform them that while I had been suggested as the most suitable candidate for Governor, I did not wish to be thus honored, as there were many anti-Nebraska Democrats in the state who would not vote for me on acount of my well-known Whig record, and I therefore suggested the name of Colonel Wm. H. Bissell, believing he would receive the votes of both Whigs and Democrats and would be triumphantly elected.

The long deadlock in the lower house of Congress has at length been broken by the election of Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, as Speaker. This is an anti-slavery victory, which I hope, but hardly dare to expect, presages the election of a Republican President next November.

CHAPTER V.

Campaign of 1856.

Springfield, February 25, 1856. — The American (alias "Know Nothing") party met in convention in Philadelphia on the 22nd inst. and after the withdrawal of some fifty anti-Nebraska delegates proceeded to nominate Ex-President Fillmore for President and Andrew Jackson Donelson, of Tennessee, a nephew of Ex-President Jackson, for Vice President. As it will be impossible for the new Republican party to indorse these nominations on the platform adopted by the convention, we will have a triangular contest for the presidency this year, which will greatly increase the chances for the Democratic candidate, I fear. And the mass convention of anti-slavery men which met in Pittsburg on the same day have issued a call for a national Republican convention in Philadelphia on the coming 17th of June to nominate Republican candidates for President and Vice President of the United States; so in the presidential election of this year we will have a direct issue between the friends of slavery and the friends of freedom.

Springfield, April 1, 1856.— The case of the negro, Dred Scott, who sued for his freedom in the United States court for Missouri on the ground that he had been kept by his master for a number of years in the territory of Minnesota in which slavery was prohibited by the ordinance of 1787, has been argued and re-argued before the supreme court of the United States, but no decision has yet been rendered. Is it possible that on account of the Kansas troubles and the growth of anti-slavery sentiment in the country the five Democratic judges are withholding their decision in this case until after the coming presidential election? I can certainly see no other reason for their delay.

Springfield, May 25, 1856.— The whole country has been deeply stirred by the terrible assault on Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, by Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, in the Senate chamber of the United States. The House of Representatives, to which Brooks belonged, lacked the two-thirds vote which was necessary to expel

him, but passed a resolution of censure by a majority vote which caused him to resign his seat; but in all probability he will be re-elected, as his deed is generally approved in the South.

Some of our people see in this assault on Senator Sumner a precursor of an assault which the slave power will one day make on the government itself; but I am very reluctant to adopt such a view.

SPRINGFIELD, May 27.— The report of the committee appointed by the House of Representatives to investigate the Kansas troubles declares that every election that has been held under the organic law of the territory has been controlled by armed and organized invasions from Missouri; that the so-called Territorial Legislature was an illegal body, and that a fair election cannot be held in the territory without a new census and the protection of the United States army.

Meantime the troubles in the territory have virtually reached the stage of civil war and are still increasing, while the pro-slavery party still enjoys the favor and approval of Pierce's administration. How long, O Lord, how long must these things continue?

BLOOMINGTON, ILLS., May 29, 1856.—I was called on to speak at the state convention held here today to complete the organization of the Republican party and prepare for our Presidential campaign. Although I had made no formal preparation, I was listened to with such interest and attention that I was almost lifted out of the body, and the reporters who were present told me afterwards that they were so "carried away" with my address that they forgot to take any notes, so they dubbed it "A Lost Speech." I do remember, however, that I declared the Whig party dead beyond the recall of even Gabriel's trumpet, and proclaimed the question of slavery extension the one supreme issue of the day. Therefore, it was our plain duty to meet this question without fear of man and let the slave states know we are such lovers of the Union that we will never leave it AND WILL NEVER PERMIT THEM TO LEAVE IT! We may or may not be able, I said, to carry the presidential election this year, but if we are beaten we should at once begin our preparations for the campaign of 1860, by which time we can not fail of success, if the anti-slavery senti-

ment of the country continues to increase and we make no serious mistakes.

SPRINGFIELD, June 10, 1856.— As I anticipated Pierce was placed on the scrap heap and Buchanan nominated for President by the Democratic National Convention at Cincinnati. The platform adopted declares the principles contained in the Kansas-Nebraska bill to be the only safe and sound solution of the slavery question and pledges the party to the application of these principles in the organization of the terrtories and the admission of new states with or without slavery as the people thereof may elect. All which would sound very plausible, if it were not for the fact that slavery is a great WRONG, and that its extension would be a menace to the principles of our free government — and to the government itself.

A fatal weakness in the platform, which does not appear to have been seen by the convention, is that it is silent on the question whether the people of a territory may prevent the introduction of slavery in their midst before they secure admission into the Union, although the only conclusion to be drawn from the platform is that they have no such right or power. Well did Senator Hamlin, of Maine, declare in the Senate a day or two since, "Alas, for territorial sovereignty! It came to its death in the house of its friends; it was buried by the same hands that gave it baptism!"

A day or two since I wrote to Hon. Elihu B. Washburn, of this state, urging the nomination of Judge McLean, of Ohio, as the Republican candidate for President at the coming Republican convention, but the tide seems to be all for Colonel Fremont, the famous Pathfinder.

URBANA, ILLS., June 20.— While attending court at this place I have received the news of Fremont's nomination at Philadelphia. Have also learned that I received about one hundred votes for Vice President. While I am not insensible to this honor what I desire is a seat in the Senate at the expiration of Douglas' term and not the mere privilege of presiding over its deliberations. Fremont's career as an explorer and "pathfinder" does not PROVE his fitness for the presidential office, but I consider him a true anti-slavery man, and I will find no difficulty in supporting him heartily and CONSCIENTIOUSLY, and with

whatever capacity I have. It is very likely that if I had been nominated for Vice President, a great many people would have questioned MY fitness for the Presidency in case of a vacancy in the office. They might even have doubted my ability to preside over the United States Senate as Vice President with due grace and dignity on account of my long arms and legs and unhandsome face!

The platform adopted by the convention pleases me as well as if I had written it myself, as it declares that "since the constitution gives Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States, it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism, slavery and polygamy." How can the people fail to indorse this declaration?

SPRINGFIELD, September 1, 1856.— Notwithstanding the pro-slavery principles with which Gov. Wilson Shannon went to Kansas, he could not approve all the schemes of the pro-slavery party in that territory, and has been compelled to "throw up his hands" and resign his position. John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania, who has been appointed to succeed him is said to be a man of character and ability, and has been instructed to act fairly and impartially and restore peace and order in the territory; but it will be very hard for him to do this without offending the administration, and being forced to make his choice between resignation and removal.

SPRINGFIELD, September 15, 1856.— The signal Republican victory in Maine gives us great hopes of electing Fremont in November, but I tell our friends not to be over-confident, as the Democratic party is a mighty powerful corporation, and the opposition to Buchanan is divided between Fremont and Fillmore. Also I fear that a good many pro-slavery Whigs will vote for Buchanan as the most certain means of defeating Fremont. And some others who can not be fairly called pro-slavery men will do the same thing on account of the bugbear of "Abolitionism," which is being used against us because we are opposing the extension of slavery.

SPRINGFIELD, September 19, 1856.— All that's left of our Whig party met in convention in Baltimore two or three days ago and "ratified" the nomination of Fillmore and Donelson. It is hard for me to see why Fillmore wants

to make this race, as the only possible result will be the continuance of the Democratic party in power for four years more. But it may be that he prefers the election of Buchanan to that of Fremont. At any rate I predict that this will be the last Whig convention held in the United States, and that Fillmore will be the last "Know Nothing" candidate for President or any other important office.

SPRINGFIELD, September 25, 1856.— It has always been my rule not to sue my clients for legal services, even when they are able to pay; but when the Illinois Central Railroad Company refused to pay my fee of $2,000 for managing its case in the suit brought against it by the officials of McLean county on the ground that the amount WAS AS MUCH AS WOULD BE CHARGED BY A FIRST-CLASS LAWYER, I withdrew the bill and after increasing the amount to $5,000 recovered the same in court, finding no difficulty in satisfying the jury that my services were worth that sum to the company. But I don't want to get in the habit of sueing my clients, neither am I anxious to make myself rich in the service of railroads and other big corporations.

SPRINGFIELD, November 1, 1856.— Only three days until the presidential election. I have stumped the state very earnestly for Fremont and made a few speeches in Indiana and other states. The people everywhere are interested in the slavery question, but I can not feel very confident of our success this year. If Fremont is defeated it will seem a long time to wait for the campaign of 1860; but whoever may be elected president this year, our cause will triumph in the end BECAUSE IT IS RIGHT!

The many threats of disunion in case of Fremont's election do not alarm me, even if they are made in earnest; for whatever choice the people make they will surely maintain at any and every cost.

SPRINGFIELD, November 8, 1856.— Am greatly disappointed, but not greatly surprised at Buchanan's election. Fremont has carried all the free states except New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois and California, and while Buchanan has a plurality of about 500,000 over Fremont, he falls nearly 400,000 votes below the aggregate vote of Fremont and Fillmore. These facts give us the assurance that although we are defeated this year, our cause is not

lost. In the language of St. Paul, "although we are cast down, we are not destroyed."

SPRINGFIELD, December 1, 1856.— Governor Geary appears to be having the same trouble with the Missouri Border Ruffians and with Pierce's administration that Reeder and Shannon had. Buchanan pledged himself to deal justly and fairly with all parties in Kansas and thereby secured the votes of many men who would never have voted for Pierce, but it will be hard for him to carry out such a policy without breaking with his southern friends to whom he owes his nomination and election. For whatever may be his wish they want to make Kansas a slave state, and they are determined to do it. I am very reluctant to pass judgment on Mr. Buchanan before he takes his seat as president, but my notion of his character gives me very little hope that he will pursue a different course from that which has been pursued by Pierce ever since the passage of the Nebraska bill.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION.

SPRINGFIELD, March 5, 1857.— Like the inaugural of his predecessor, Buchanan's inaugural address congratulates the country on the end of anti-slavery agitation, the whole question having been settled by the repeal of the Missouri compromise, which act provides that the people of each territory may either prohibit or establish slavery as they prefer. Concerning the time at which the people may exercise this option he says, "This is a judicial question which legitimately belongs to the supreme court before whom it is now pending and will, it is understood, be speedily and finally (?) settled. To this decision, in common with all good citizens, I shall cheerfully submit, whatever it may be."

Evidently Mr. Buchanan has not only been informed that the supreme court will soon decide this Dred Scott case, but knows what its decision will be, else he would hardly be ready to pledge executive submission to its terms. Very clearly our Democratic president is not another Andrew Jackson.

SPRINGFIELD, March 8, 1857.— As if to fulfill the prophecy of Buchanan's inaugural, the Supreme Court on the 6th inst. rendered its decision, approved by five of its seven members, declaring that at the time of the adoption of the constitution and previous to that time the negro race were only recognized as PROPERTY, and were not considered as having any rights that white men were bound to respect. Wherefore, said these five judges, Dred Scott had no right to bring a suit for his freedom in the courts of the United States, and his case must be dismissed.

But after dismissing the suit for lack of jurisdiction, the court proceeded to assume jurisdiction by holding that Dred Scott did not secure any right to his freedom by being taken into the free territory of Minnesota, because the Missouri compromise which prohibited slavery in that territory was unconstitutional and void, Congress having no right under the constitution to prohibit slavery in any territory of the United States. In other words the court held that the constitution itself carried slavery into all the territories of the United States.

If Douglas accepts this decision, he will certainly belie all he has ever claimed for his boasted doctrine of "popular sovereignty," and if this decision had been rendered before the election of last fall I doubt very much whether Buchanan would have carried a single Northern state.

SPRINGFIELD, March 12, 1857.— History continues to repeat itself in Kansas. Governor Geary finding himself opposed, persecuted and insulted, and his life endangered by the pro-slavery party, has resigned his office and left the territory in disguise.

President Buchanan's special friend, Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, has been appointed his successor, with the distinct promise of Buchanan that the constitution to be adopted by the coming convention at Lecompton, shall be submitted to the people of the territory for their ratification or rejection. This promise may have been made to Walker in good faith; but if he is not sustained by the administration in his determination to secure a free and fair vote on this Lecompton constitution, he will surely follow his three predecessors into the "graveyard of Kansas Governors."

CHICAGO, September 24, 1857.—I have derived no

small satisfaction from my success in the case of Hurd and others against the Rock Island Railroad Bridge Company, tried before Justice McLean, in this city. In trying this case I not only maintained that the Railroad Company had as good an abstract right to build and operate a bridge over the Mississippi river as the owners of steamboats have to run their crafts up and down its channels, but I realized that I was rendering a public service in maintaining that travel between the East and the West should be considered as vital and important as between the North and the South, especially so in view of the increase in wealth and population which the West has shown during the past few years. The practice of law would be much more agreeable and satisfactory to me if I could see that I was serving the public in every case that I represent in the courts!

CHAPTER VII.

The Lecompton Constitution.

Springfield, October 20, 1857.— The delegates to the Kansas constitutional convention who were elected by the pro-slavery party last June assembled in Lecompton yesterday and organized by choosing John Calhoun, under whom I once served as surveyor of Sangamon county, for their presiding officer.

Springfield, November 20, 1857.— In the short space of three weeks the Lecompton convention framed and adopted a constitution for the state of Kansas—perhaps it would be more correct to say they copied one inspired and framed at Washington—and adjourned. But instead of submitting it to a vote of the people in accordance with the pledges of the administration, the people are only allowed to vote for the "Constitution with Slavery," or for the "Constitution without Slavery." And even if a majority of the people should vote for the "Constitution without Slavery," they must submit to all the other odious provisions in which the constitution abounds, such as the article providing that the right of property in slaves now in the territory shall not be interfered with, and the article providing that no amendments shall be made to the con-

stitution before the expiration of seven years. And as if to secure a majority vote for the "Constitution with Slavery," Calhoun has been given full power to establish the election precincts, to appoint the election judges, and to canvass the returns and declare the results of the election which is to be held on the 21st of December next.

SPRINGFIELD, December 15, 1857. — Finding himself wholly unsupported by the Administration in his efforts to secure an honest election in Kansas, Governor Walker has resigned his office and joined the procession of retiring Kansas governors. Acting Governor Stanton has called an extra session of the Free State Legislature, elected in October, to devise ways and means to prevent the forcing of the Lecompton Constitution on the people of Kansas. It will not be long, I predict, until Stanton, too, will go the way of his four predecessors either by resignation or removal. Very truly did Senator Seward, of New York, declare in a speech in the Senate the other day: "The ghosts on the banks of the Styx constitute a cloud scarcely more dense than the spirits of the departed governors of Kansas, wandering in exile and sorrow for having certified the truth against falsehood in regard to the contest between freedom and slavery in Kansas."

SPRINGFIELD, January 15, 1858.— John Calhoun has as last counted the vote on the Lecompton Constitution as cast on the 21st of last December and announced the result: For the "Constitution with Slavery," 6,266 votes; for the "Constitution without Slavery," 567 votes. The Free State men generally refrained from voting on the ground that the Lecompton convention and the legislature which authorized it were both illegal bodies.

But at the election held on the 4th of this month, which was ordered by the Legislature elected last October, a majority of over 10,000 votes was cast against the constitution itself. And yet we may expect that the whole power of the Administration will be exercised to defeat this manifest will of the people and secure the admission of Kansas into the union as a slave state.

SPRINGFIELD, January 16, 1858.— Douglas appears to have placed himself in complete opposition to the Administration on the Lecompton issue. He is reported to have had a recent "stormy interview" with Buchanan in the

White House, during which the latter cautioned him to beware of the fate which overtook certain men who quarreled with the administration of General Jackson. "Let me remind you, Mr. President," Douglas is said to have replied, "that General Jackson is dead!"

SPRINGFIELD, February 3, 1858.— President Buchanan sent a special message to Congress yesterday urging the immediate admission of Kansas as a slave state under the Lecompton constitution, in which he had the hardihood to declare that "Kansas is at this moment as much a slave state as Georgia or South Carolina."

And all this in face of the 10,000 majority which was given against this constitution on the 4th of January and in spite of the indignation which his Lecompton policy has aroused in all the northern states. I wonder if Mr. Buchanan has ever asked himself what the verdict of history will be concerning his devotion to the slave power and the bad faith he has practiced toward the people of Kansas.

SPRINGFIELD, March 24, 1858.— After a fierce debate of several days the United States Senate yesterday passed the bill admitting Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton constitution by a vote of 32 to 25, three Democrats, Douglas, of Illinois, Stuart, of Michigan, and Broderick, of California, voting with the Republicans in the negative. In the course of this debate Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, made a lengthy speech in which he represented the negro slaves as the "mudsills" on which Southern society rested and the free laborers of the North as the mudsills of Northern society. Such are the sentiments which slavery breeds.

In view of the Kansas policy of the Administration how weak and ludicrous seems the demand from many quarters that all anti-slavery agitation should cease because slavery is only a "domestic institution" of the South.

SPRINGFIELD, April 1, 1858.— Ever since Douglas came out against the Lecompton policy of the Administration he has been coquetting with certain Republican leaders in Washington with a view of securing their sympathy and support in his canvass for re-election to the Senate in Illinois this year. And I really fear that he is charming some of them away from their allegiance to the fundamental principles of our party, notwithstanding his re-

peated declarations that he does not care whether slavery is voted up or down in Kansas; hence I fear that in the canvass I expect to make against him, I may not have the support of many Republicans who I think ought to support me. But I will make the canvass at all events, and if I accomplish nothing more, I feel confident I can show the people that Douglas can never be trusted as a leader of our anti-slavery forces—AND THAT HE SHOULD NEVER BE ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES!

SPRINGFIELD, April 2, 1858. — The lower house of Congress yesterday disposed of the bill for admitting Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton constitution by adopting a substitute referring the whole question to the people of the territory under conditions that would secure a free and fair election. But as such an election is not what the friends of slavery desire, this substitute will hardly be accepted by the Senate. Although the Lecompton constitution is dead, the fact that this substitute received a majority of only eight votes, makes me almost shudder to think by what a narrow margin Kansas has been saved from the curse of slavery forever and aye!

SPRINGFIELD, April 25, 1858.— Herndon has returned from the East and does not bring a very rosy account of Republican sentiment there in reference to my candidacy for the Senate, as so many prominent Republicans are inclined to reward Douglas for his opposition to Lecompton and secure his support—vain hope!—in our further opposition to the extension of slavery. But I am happy to know that there is no such a sentiment among the Republicans of Illinois, and therefore I shall enter on the canvass with a good deal of hope and confidence, notwithstanding Douglas' popularity and plausibility and his facility in logic—I mean in his kind of logic.

SPRINGFIELD, May 1, 1858.— Instead of standing by its vote for referring the Lecompton constitution back to the people of Kansas, the House of Representatives on yesterday adopted the "English bill," which provides for a vote on the constitution and offers the state a large grant of public lands if it is adopted. But in case this bribe—for bribe it is — is rejected, Kansas is to be punished by keeping her out of the Union until she has the number of inhabitants required for a congressional representative

in the various states, some ninety thousand. Was ever such a monstrosity submitted to the votes of free people?

SPRINGFIELD, June 1, 1858.— As the time approaches for our state convention, which I except will declare me its choice for United States Senator, I realize more clearly what I have long thought, that this union of free states and slave states in one government can not permanently continue, and that slavery will either be extended over all the states and territories or they will all be free. And I want the people to understand me at the start, so that I can impress on their minds the serious nature of our contest with Douglas and the Democratic party. I have never counted myself worthy of a place among the prophets of Israel; but in this case I feel that the Almighty has given me a message that I must deliver to the people, whether they will hear or forbear.

I have already commenced the preparation of the speech I expect to deliver before the convention and have submitted the opening paragraph to a number of my friends. In this paragraph I quote the Scriptural text, "A house divided against itself can not stand," and then proceed to express my opinion that "this government of ours can not permanently endure, half slave and half free." All of them except Herndon (who avows that this declaration will make me President before I die) advise against such a radical position, as they fear I will be charged with "Abolitionism;" but I tell them all that much as I desire a seat in the United States Senate I desire far more to make an effective campaign against the extension of slavery and to contribute in some measure to the election of a Republican President in 1860. I also hope in my address to convince the people that whatever good Douglas has done — and I must concede that if he had not opposed the Administration, Kansas would now be one of the slave states in this Republic — he can not be depended on to help our cause in the future, as he declares himself wholly indifferent on the supreme issue of slavery extension. If maintaining these views does not make me Senator I do not want to be a Senator; for I could never enjoy a seat in the Senate at the price of suppressing my views on this great question. In the days of my boyhood scarcely anything vexed me more than to hear people talk about things

that I could not clearly understand; and in my practice at the bar I have always taken pains to make courts and juries and witnesses understand the force and meaning of whatever I had to say, as well as to believe that I meant what I said. Still more in this canvass against the extension of slavery do I want the people not only to believe that I mean what I say, but to understand my position and also my feelings and sentiments.

SPRINGFIELD, June 17, 1858.— At the Republican state convention to-day a resolution was unanimously adopted declaring that "Abraham Lincoln is the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for United States Senator as the successor of Steven A. Douglas."

At the evening session of the convention I delivered the address I had previously prepared to which they listened with as close attention as if they considered me an inspired oracle. And when at the close I declared that the result of our contest is not doubtful and that if we stand firm in our faith, SOONER OR LATER VICTORY IS SURE TO COME, the faces of all the delegates and spectators seemed to say to me, "Lincoln, we believe you—we all believe you!"

CHICAGO, July 10, 1858. — I made a rather lengthy speech in this city to-night, in reply to one made by Douglas last night, in which I took especial pains to repel his charge that I was "resisting" the Dred Scott decision. On the contrary, I declared, and I hope I made clear the fact that I only refused to make that decision my rule of political action. I did avow, however, that we Republicans not only hoped to see that decision reversed, but WE MEAN TO REVERSE IT!

In reference to the Declaration of Independence I claimed that its principles of equality should ever be our ideal and standard, even if we could not carry that principle into full effect, even as we should ever obey the Scripture injunction to be perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect, although as finite beings we cannot hope to attain complete moral perfection any more than we can hope for complete physical or mental perfection.

SPRINGFIELD, July 30, 1858.— Douglas has accepted my challenge — none too willingly, as I believe — to a joint discussion of the issues in the campaign before the people

of the state. He proposes that we hold one debate in each of the seven congressional districts of the state in which we have not already spoken, namely, at Ottowa, August 21; at Freeport, August 27; at Jonesboro, September 15; at Charleston, September 18; at Galesburg, October 7; at Quincy, October 13; at Alton, October 15. I have accordingly written him a note accepting his "terms" without asking any modification of them.

SPRINGFIELD, August 5, 1858.— The people of Kansas have again placed their seal of condemnation—shall I say their seal of DAMNATION?—on the Lecompton constitution, voting it down for a second time by over ten thousand majority and most emphatically rejecting the English bribe. For which action I presume Kansas will have to remain a territory during the pleasure of the present Congress.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE "FREEPORT HERESY."

SPRINGFIELD, August 6, 1858.— Some of my friends, well knowing Judge Douglas' facility in debate and the many shirks and quirks to which he resorts in order to carry the crowd with him, have expressed to me their apprehensions in reference to my success in coping with him before the great crowds who will want to hear us. To all such I have generally replied by quoting from Shakespeare:

"Thrice armed is he who knows his cause is just."

And to one of my particular friends whom I met on the street to-day I replied by reminding him that when two men are about to fight each other, it is not the fellow who brags and bluffs and blusters and jumps in the air and cracks his heels together and wastes his breath in trying to scare his opponent who is going to whip, but rather the one who says not a word and keeps his fists doubled up and his teeth closed together and saves his breath for the contest. This fellow, I said, will either win the fight or die a-trying.

OTTAWA, ILLS., August 21.— My first debate with Douglas took place here to-day before a very large audience of both Republicans and Democrats. I expected that between us we would draw a large crowd, but I was greatly

surprised to see so many people from both this and adjoining counties. As I expected, Douglas quoted from my address before the State Convention to prove me an Abolitionist and a believer in Negro equality, to which I replied in very explicit terms that I did not propose any interference with the institution of slavery where it now exists, and that I did not favor the social and political equality of the black and white races, and I took occasion to remark that by his (Douglas') method of argument and cunning use of words on this and other points any one could easily prove that a horse-chestnut is a chestnut-horse.

He propounded a number of questions to me concerning my position on the repeal of the fugitive slave law, the admission of any more slave states and some other points, my only reply at the time being that I would not permit him to chatechise me unless he would let me catechise him; but I have already framed my replies and also a few questions which I will propound to him at Freeport, where we are to have our next debate, the most important of which will be this, "Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the adoption of a state constitution?" When he hears this question from me I feel certain he will see that asking questions is a game that two can play at.

My object in this query is to compel Douglas to define himself in explicit terms on the Dred Scott decision and to show the people by his answer that it can not be reconciled with his popular sovereignty doctrine. If he answers that the people have no such right, he will lose a large portion of his following in Illinois and the other northern states, and if he answers that they have such a right, or even fails to deny that they have, he will forfeit all hope of Southern support in his canvass for the Presidency. Several of my friends advise me not to put this question to Douglas, claiming that he will be skillful and adroit enough to answer it in such a manner as to retain his hold on the people of Illinois and secure his re-election to the Senate, but I have told them I am more anxious to destroy his chances for the Presidency and prepare the way for Republican success in 1860 than I am to gain the seat in the Senate to which I have so long aspired but never attained. In reference to

my desire to go to the Senate I likened myself to the honest Hoosier who reckoned there was no man in Indiana fonder of gingerbread than he was and got less of it.

FREEPORT, ILLS., August 27, 1858.— After answering the queries put to me by Douglas at Ottawa, I propounded mine to him at this place today. In reply to my question concerning the right of the people of any territory to exclude the institution of slavery from their limits before the formation of a state constitution, he answered with the strange assertion, that even if the Supreme Court should decide that the Constitution carries slavery into the territories, the people of any territory may prevent its introduction by "unfriendly legislation," which is equivalent to saying that the people of a territory have the constitutional right to prohibit the existence of an institution where it has a constitutional right to exist! And still Douglas professes the highest respect for the courts and the constitution. It requires no gift of prophecy to tell how this answer of Douglas will be received in the Southern states. In all the rest of our debates I will have him on the defensive; and even if he defeats me for Senator, so far as the Presidency is concerned, he is a doomed man from this day forth!

SPRINGFIELD, September 6, 1858. — There is no mistaking the temper of the South in reference to Douglas' position concerning the right of the inhabitants of a territory to exclude slavery from their limits by "unfriendly legislation." The Southen press almost without exception brand it as the "Freeport heresy" and declare that in no case will the South support Douglas for President in 1860. They even charge him with bad faith in repudiating his caucus agreement to accept the decision of the Supreme Court on this question as a finality. Douglas' answer to my query has also revealed the fact more clearly to the Northern people that the Dred Scott decision which he claims to support and denounces me for opposing, effectually disposes of his boasted "popular sovereignty," as the two are wholly irreconcilable. Hence whatever efforts he may make to reconcile the dictum of the Supreme Court with his boasted doctrine, he will only flounder in the mire of inconsistency and contradiction, and will find the Presidency the farther removed from his eyes the more he strives to reach it!

ALTON, ILLS., October 15, 1858.— The last of our seven debates occurred here to-day, and although our arguments were to some extent a repetition of those used in the previous debates, I was so possessed with a sense of the serious issue we were discussing that I waxed very warm, if not very eloquent, in my speech of an hour and a half; and I almost flattered myself that I made some of Douglas' supporters realize the inconsistency and absurdity of his answer to my query concerning the right of the people of a territory to exclude slavery from its limits before they form a state constitution. In these debates with Douglas as well as in my other speeches this year, I have almost fancied that I could hear an echo of approval not only from all parts of Illinois but from all the other northern states; and several nights during the campaign I have dreamed that I saw my mother standing beside my bed and heard her say to me: "Abe, you are doing well, you are doing well!" Whether I gain the Senatorship or not, I really believe I have made some marks that will tell for the cause of freedom after I am dead.

BLOOMINGTON, Nov. 1, 1858. — While attending court here to-day, I was met on the street by a special friend who told me that during his recent travels in the East as well as in Ohio, Michigan and Indiana he was everywhere met with the inquiry, "Who is this Lincoln that is holding those debates with Douglas in Illinois?" and that he had told them all we had two giants in Illinois, Douglas being the "little giant" and Lincoln the big one. Then he urged me to become a candidate for President, but I promptly replied that there was no such luck as the Presidency in store for me, and that it would be no use to seek the Republican nomination against Seward and Chase and other men so much better known that I am. And yet I can not get rid of the feeling that in this great conflict against slavery I will have some very important part to play. God only knows what it will be.

SPRINGFIELD, November 2, 1858.— "Long John Wentworth's" paper, the Chicago Democrat, has published an editorial speaking in very complimentary terms of my speeches in this campaign and urging my nomination for President in 1860; but as I don't think I could possibly

secure the nomination for President, I apprehend no serious results from Long John's mention of my name.

But I must confess that I feel greatly pleased with what he says of my speeches. "They will be recognized," his editorial declares, "for a long time to come as a standard authority on those topics which overshadow all others in the political world of our day; and our children will appreciate the great truths which they so forcibly illustrate with a higher appreciation of their worth than their fathers possessed while listening to them." If this generous prediction should be even partially fulfilled, what more could I ask or desire?

SPRINGFIELD, ILLS., November 10, 1858.— Our election is over; and on account of the unfair legislative apportionment and the Democratic "holdovers" in the State Senate, Douglas will have a majority of eight over me in the Legislature, although we have elected our State ticket and there is a majority of some 4,000 of the popular vote for legislative candidates in my favor. As I have expressed myself to my friends, "my defeat hurts too bad to laugh, and I am too big to cry," but although I may sink out of view and be forgotten, the fight against slavery extension will go on until victory is secured. My 4,000 majority of the popular vote gives me pretty positive assurance that my canvass has made Illinois a Republican state, and that its electoral vote will be cast for the Republican candidate for President in 1860, whoever he may be.

SPRINGFIELD, November 19, 1858.— I have just written a letter to a special friend in the southern part of the state, stating that the fight against slavery extension must go on and must not be given up even at the end of a hundred defeats. Douglas' cunning and ingenuity secured for him the support of those who wanted to uphold the slave interest and of some who wanted to break it down; but these antagonistic elements can not be kept in harmony much longer—another explosion will soon come, God only knows how soon.

SPRINGFIELD, December 1, 1858.— In addition to the fact that a majority of Illinois voters have expressed their preference for me over Douglas for United States Senator, it gives me great satisfaction to know that my speeches during the campaign have secured so much attention from

other states. I am simply overloaded with congratulations and invitations to lecture and speak in other states that have elections in 1859. It is hard for me to decline so many invitations, but I have lost so much time from my legal practice that I must return to it for the support of my family and the repairing of my finances.

SPRINGFIELD, December 10, 1858.— Douglas has lost his hold on the South by his opposition to the Lecompton Constitution and his "Freeport heresy" as surely as he lost his hold on the North by his Nebraska bill and his support of the Dred Scott decision; for the Democratic Senatorial caucus has deposed him from his position as chairman of the committee on territories and seem determined to read him out of the party altogether. All in vain, therefore, will be his present trip to the South and his efforts to recover his lost prestige. His speeches in favor of the annexation of Cuba and part of Mexico savor very strongly of a positive interest in the extension of slavery — but the South WILL HAVE NONE OF HIM, as he will surely find to be the case when the next national Democratic Convention is held.

CHAPTER IX.

"THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT."

SPRINGFIELD, December 2, 1858.— I have been very much interested in reading Senator Seward's recent speech at Rochester, New York, in which he declared that the antagonism between free labor and slave labor is "AN IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT BETWEEN OPPOSING AND ENDURING FORCES," and that "the United States will sooner or later become an entirely free nation or an entirely slave nation. "Either the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina and the sugar plantations of Louisiana," he prophesies, "will ultimately be tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts for legitimate merchandise alone, or else the rye-fields and wheat fields of Massachusetts and New York must be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture and the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more markets for trade in the bodies and souls of men." This declaration (which I can not but note is substantially the same that I expressed in my Spring-

field address when I declared that this government could not permanently endure half slave and half free) I consider as true a prophecy as any to be found in Holy Writ, although I do not expect to see its fulfillment in my own time. But who can tell what the remaining years of my life may bring forth?

SPRINGFIELD, April 6, 1859.— I have been favored with an invitation to give an address at a festival in Boston in honor of Jefferson's birthday, which I have had to decline on account of professional engagements. In my letter of declination I have recalled the story of two drunken men who fought each other until the contest ended with no other result than that each one had fought himself out of his own coat and into that of the other fellow! This result I likened to the fact that the Democratic party, although claiming to be the party of Jefferson, has forsaken his principles—WHICH ARE THE DEFINITIONS AND AXIOMS OF FREE SOCIETY—and holds that the liberty of one man is as nothing in comparison with another man's rights of property, while we Republicans are for both the man and the dollar, but in case of conflict, we are now, and I trust always will be, FOR THE MAN BEFORE THE DOLLAR.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, September 16, 1859.— The invitation to speak in this city in behalf of the Republican state ticket was so gracious and urgent that I could not refuse it. I devoted most of my time to answering Douglas' recent article on "Popular Sovereignty" in Harper's Magazine. In the course of my remarks I asserted that this doctrine simply means that if one man wants to make a slave of another man, neither that other man nor any one else has a right to object. This seemed like a new definition to most of the audience; but it was very plain to me that they appreciated the pith and point of my statement.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, September 17, 1859.— From Columbus to this city I came today and gave an address tonight. As Douglas has accused me of "shooting over the line" and attacking the institution of slavery where it now exists, in part of my speech I assumed that I was addressing Kentuckians across the Ohio river. To this imaginary audience I declared that slavery is WRONG, morally, socially and politically, and that while we had no desire to interfere with it where it now exists, we were determined to resist

its extension into the territories by either Congress or the courts; for the people, I maintained, are the masters of both Congress and the courts, not for the purpose of overthrowing the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who miscontrue and pervert the Constitution. My visit to Ohio has given me great pleasure and increased my confidence in Republican success in next year's campaign. I was particularly gratified to make the acquaintance of Governor Chase, for I consider him, as his looks indicate, an exceedingly able man, and ONE CAPABLE OF RENDERING GREAT SERVICE TO HIS COUNTRY IN ANY EMERGENCY. I could ask no clearer proof that my debates with Douglas have been a great service to the anti-slavery cause than the fact that the Ohio Committee have asked me to furnish a complete report of the same, which they desire to print and circulate in aid of the Presidential ticket next year. I very cheerfully promised compliance with this request.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., September 30, 1859.— I gave an address before the State Agricultural Society of this place to-day, in which I urged that efforts should be made to increase the productivity of the soil by more scientific cultivation, declaring that under the system of free labor education and industry should ever go hand in hand in developing our resources, and closed with the hope "that by the wisest and best cultivation of the physical world around us and THE MORAL WORLD WITHIN US, we shall secure an individual, social and political prosperity and happiness, which shall be onward and upward, and which, while the earth endures shall not pass away."

CHAPTER X.

CAMPAIGN OF 1860.—"THE END OF THE POWER OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES."

SPRINGFIELD, January 1, 1860.— Notwithstanding all my protests that I am not a proper candidate for President, and that I could not hope to obtain the nomination a considerable number of Illinois Republicans met here in Springfield and formally requested me to enter the lists; and I have finally got it into my head that I would like to be President myself just as I got it into my head in 1854 that I wanted to be a United States Senator, and haven't

got it out of my head for a single day since! So I have acceded to the request of my friends and, at their request, have furnished them the following brief sketch of my life for circulation that the people may learn (if they can from so short a story) what sort of a man I am:

"I was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin Co., Ky. My mother who died in my tender years was of a family named Hanks. My paternal grandfather emigrated from Virginia to Kentucky about 1781, where a year or two later he was killed by an Indian while laboring in the forest. My father who was only six or seven years of age at that time grew up without any education worth mentioning. He moved from Kentucky to Spencer County, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time Indiana was admitted into the Union. It was a wild region with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods, and there I grew up. There were some schools, but no qualification was required of any teacher beyond 'readin', writin' and cipherin' to the rule of three.' If a straggler supposed to understand Latin came into the neighborhood he was looked on as a wizard. Of course, when I became of age I didn't know much; I could read, write and cipher to the rule of three, but that was all, and I have not been to school since. The little I have added to this store I have picked up from time to time under pressure of necessity. I was raised to farm work at which I continued until I was twenty-two years old. At the age of twenty-one I came to Macon County, Illinois. Then I got to New Salem in Sangamon County, where I remained a year or two as a sort of clerk in a store. Then came the Black Hawk war, and I was chosen Captain of a volunteer company, a success which gave me more pleasure than any since. I served my time in that campaign, and ran for the Legislature the same year (1832). Was beaten, the only time I have ever been beaten by the people, except for presidential elector. At the next election and for three succeeding elections I came out ahead, so that I was a member of the Illinois Legislature for four full terms. During this period I studied law and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846 I was elected to the lower house of Congress, but was not a candidate for re-election in 1848. From 1849 to 1854 I practiced law more assiduously than ever before.

I was always a Whig in politics and was generally on the Whig electoral ticket, but never elected anybody President. I was losing interest in politics until the repeal of the Missouri compromise aroused me again. What I have done since that time is pretty well known.

"If any personal description of me is desired, it may be said that I am nearly six feet and four inches in height—lean in flesh, weighing on an average 180 pounds—dark complexion—coarse black hair and gray eyes. No other marks or brands recollected."

If this sketch conjures up any support for me, I guess neither the Constitution nor the statutes made in pursuance thereof will be violated.

New York City, February 28, 1860.—I was very much gratified to meet so large an audience at Cooper Institute last night. Instead of taking a text from the Bible or the Constitution I took Douglas' recent declaration that "Our fathers, when they framed the government, understood this question of slavery in the territories as well and even better than we do." I then proceeded to show by the opinions and votes of thirty-nine of the men who signed the Constitution that they recognized the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories, hoping thereby to secure its ultimate extinction.

I was also grateful this morning to see my address published in the four daily papers of the city. A very few persons have expressed the opinion to me that my address will promote my chances for the presidential nomination; but I do not indulge any great expectations of Eastern support. People are not apt to conclude that any gift of speechifying that I may possess proves my fitness for the Presidency or makes me more "available" candidate than the other candidates. Still my Illinois friends are working very hard and seem determined to secure my nomination or perish in the effort.

Springfield, April 25, 1860.—I have given more or less thought to my chances for the presidential nomination, but can not figure the thing out. Seward will be in the lead with New York and the northwestern states and part of New England. Chase will have most of the Ohio delegation and some scattering votes. Banks will have Massachusetts and part of other New England states. Cameron

will have Pennsylvania, while I can only count on Illinois and Indiana. My friends tell me, however, they hope to convince a majority of the delegates that I am the most "available" man on the list, for the doubtful states of New Jersey, Illinois, Indiana and Pennsylvania. If they can succeed in doing this, they claim my nomination is a certainty. But they all understand that I will make no promises or pledges and will be bound by none that may be made in my behalf.

SPRINGFIELD, May 4, 1860.— Very naturally I have been much interested in the reports from the Democratic National Convention, which assembled at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23rd of April, and after a stormy session of ten days adjourned— rather "broke up"—to meet in Baltimore, Md., on the 18th of next month. As I have predicted ever since our Freeport debate, the South would have none of Douglas or his popular sovereignty.

The committee on resolutions were unable to agree, and after three days' discussion presented a majority and a minority report. Both of these reports reaffirmed the Cincinnati platform and declared for the execution of the fugitive slave law and the acquisition of Cuba; but the majority report was very explicit in asserting the right of slaveholders to take their "property" (slaves) into the territories and the duty of Congress to protect them in that right until the inhabitants of a territory form a state consitution and are admitted into the Union, while the minority report declared that in view of the differences of opinion concerning the powers of Congress over slavery in the territories the party would abide by the decision of the Supreme Court on this question, thus making both Congress and the Executive subservient to the Supreme Court. Well has somebody said that "such a declaration is enough to make the bones of old Jackson rattle in his coffin!" And since the Supreme Court declared in the Dred Scott case that Congress had no constitutional right to prohibit slavery in the territories, how little real difference there is in the two proposed platforms after all!

During the debates on these two reports, in reply to the demands of the Southern delegates that Northern Democrats should give up their position that slavery is wrong and accept the majority report, Senator Pugh, of Ohio,

declared that after all the concessions the northern Democracy had heretofore made to the South, they were now asked to lay their hands on their mouths and place their mouths in the dust. "Gentlement of the South," he said, "you mistake us—we will not do it!"

On the seventh day of the Convention the minority report was adopted by a vote of 165 to 138, and then the delegations from the cotton states withdrew from the convention. After two or three days were spent in balloting for a candidate and failing to make a nomination under the two-thirds rule, the Convention adjourned to meet in Baltimore, Md., on the 18th of June. The Southern delegates also assembled in another hall and adjourned to meet in Richmond, Va., on the 11th of June.

DECATUR, ILLS., May 10, 1860.— At the Republican State Convention held here to-day my cousin, Dennis Hanks, brought into the hall a couple of weather beaten fence rails decorated with flags and streamers—also a banner bearing the inscription "Abraham Lincoln, the rail candidate for President in 1860—two rails from a lot made by Thomas Hanks and Abe Lincoln in 1830." In response to loud calls I rose and merely said that I didn't know whether I made those rails or not, but I had made a great many just as good.

Soon after John M. Palmer, who was one of the Democratic members of the Legislature that refused to support me for senator in the winter of 1854-5, introduced a resolution which was adopted unanimously, declaring me the choice of Illinois Republicans for President and instructing the delegation to the National Convention to vote for me as a unit. In presenting his resolution Palmer was generous enough to state to the Convention that he wanted "to pay Lincoln back" for withdrawing from the Senatorial race in 1855 in favor of Trumbull.

SPRINGFIELD, May 11, 1860.— The newspapers inform us that the remnant of the "Know Nothing" party (now calling itself the "Constitutional Union" party) held its convention in Baltimore day before yesterday and nominated Ex-Senator John Bell, of Tennessee, for President, and the distinguished Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. Their platform declares that they "recognize no political principle other than the Constitution

of the country, the Union of the States and the enforcement of the laws;" but they signally fail to note the fact that the constitution and the Union and the laws of the nation are mortally menaced by the efforts that are being made to extend the institution of slavery and prepare the way for the re-opening of the African slave trade.

SPRINGFIELD, May 18, 1860.—The telegraphic wires informed the country this afternoon that, amid loud cheers and booming of many cannon, I was nominated for President at Chicago on the third ballot, and that on motion of William M. Evarts, chairman of the New York delegation, my nomination was made unanimous. Such a mark of confidence makes me feel very grateful to the Republican party, and I wish at the same time that the people all knew what a deep and even painful sense of duty and responsibility I feel. During the canvass of 1858 against Douglas I was all the time oppressed with the UNCERTAINTY of the result; but this year all signs point to the CERTAINTY of our success. In the present condition of the country the office of President will be no bed of roses; and I will need all the wit and wisdom which I am capable of exercising to make my administration successful and acceptable to the people. And God helping me, that is what I will always try to do.

The platform adopted by the convention formally indorses the Declaration of Independence, which has always been my political gospel, condemns the doctrine that the Constitution carries slavery into the territories, declares freedom, not slavery, to be the normal condition of our territories, denies the authority of Congress or a territorial Legislature to establish slavery in the territories, denounces all attempts to reopen the African slave trade and demands the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union as a free state.

Although I only know Senator Hamlin, of Maine, who was nominated for Vice President, by reputation, I feel honored by having so true and able a man as a colleague on the ticket, and I do not believe I could improve the platform in any respect. The platform "plows around" the tariff question somewhat by recognizing the need of import duties for purposes of revenue, but it also declares in favor of adjuusting these duties in such a manner as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the country.

This plank of the platform, I am politician enough to believe, will secure us the vote of Pennsylvania without alienating anti-slavery men who are inclined to a strictly revenue tariff.

SPRINGFIELD, May 19, 1860.—The delegation appointed by the Convention to "notify" me of my nomination reached Springfield today. As most of them had never seen me before and as my nomination was a disappointment to several of them, I could not help noticing how eagerly and curiously they eyed me from head to foot, taking note of my height, my dark complexion, my high cheek-bones, the seams and lines in my face and even the size of my hands and feet and the length of my arms and legs. I did not attempt a set speech, merely expressing my appreciation of the high honor conferred upon me and the hope that I would not prove unworthy of the people's confidence.

I relieved the formality and ceremony of the occasion somewhat by asking Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania, the tallest man in the party, what height he measured. "Six feet, three inches," he said, and when I told him my height was six feet four inches he answered very graciously, "Then Pennsylvania must bow to Illinois."

SPRINGFIELD, May 22, 1860.—Among many other letters I have received since the Chicago Convention is one from the veteran abolitionist Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, who informs me that although he did nothing to secure my nomination, whenever he is asked his opinion of me he replies by saying that I am an HONEST MAN, and that all he asks of my administration is to make good that opinion.

SPRINGFIELD, May 23, 1860.—I have just completed my letter of acceptance. Taking it for granted that my views on the issues of the campaign are pretty well known, I have contented myself with approving the platform adopted by the Convention, and declaring that with the assistance of Divine Providence (which I realize that I shall need more than any of my predecessors), I should ever recognize the rights of all the states and territories, and should ever labor for the harmony, prosperity and PERPETUAL UNION of all the people. Before mailing my letter I submitted it to our State School Superintendent to see if the grammar was all "O. K.;" and the only correction he made was a change in the order of the words in the phrase,

"to not violate" so it would read "not to violate," as he said it was contrary to the constitution and laws of grammar "to split an infinitive." He did not claim, however, that it was as great a transgression to split an infinitive as it would be to split this Union of ours!

SPRINGFIELD, June 15, 1860.—The seceders from the Charleston Convention met in Richmond on the 11th inst. and after due deliberation voted to adjourn and apply for readmission to the Convention at Baltimore on the 18th inst., evidently with the hope of securing the adoption of their platform and the nomination of some candidate other than Douglas.

SPRINGFIELD, June 25, 1860.—The Democratic National Convention—more properly its two SECTIONAL conventions —reassembled in Baltimore on the 18th inst., and after five days' wrangling over the readmission of the delegates who withdrew at Charleston, "broke up" again, the seceders from the cotton states being reinforced by the delegates from the other slave states and from California. What was then left of the Convention proceeded to nominate Douglas for President, the seceders meeting in another hall and nominating Vice President Breckenridge.

SPRINGFIELD, June 28, 1860.—Although my nomination was a great surprise to many Republicans and a positive shock to some, the general sentiment of the party throughout the northern states as revealed in the newspapers is very generous. As far as I can judge the disposition of all Republicans is to give me their fullest confidence; so I am neither disturbed nor displeased by the numerous inquiries that come to my acquaintances throughout the state concerning my previous record, my mode of life and the manner of man I am. I am also visited by reporters of various papers, most of whom show a disposition to secure "data," on which they can assure the public that I am not as raw a backwoodsman as many people have been led to believe.

SPRINGFIELD, July 4, 1860.—On this national birthday I have spent some little time pondering the fact that the four candidates for President are unanimous in their professions of devotion to the Union and are alike emphatic in their pledges for its maintenance.

I could not make my pledge any stronger than it is in my letter of acceptance. Douglas says in his letter, "The

Union must be preserved, and the Constitution must be maintained inviolate in all its parts." Breckinridge says in his letter, "The Constitution and the equality of the states, these are the symbols of everlasting Union. Bell says, "If elected, all my ability, strength of will and official influence will be employed for the maintenance of the Union and Constitution against all opposing influences and tendencies."

But on the vital issue of this campaign I stand alone and apart from all three of my rivals in everlasting opposition to the extension and nationalization of slavery—so help me, Almighty God!

SPRINGFIELD, July 6, 1860.—Kansas has been denied a voice in the election of this year, the U. S. Senate having refused to take up the House bill for her admission into the Union under the Wyandotte constitution—but justice will prevail in the end, as surely as the Lord liveth!

SPRINGFIELD, July 10, 1860.—Nearly every day I receive one or more calls from Republican supporters, most of whom seem merely desirous of taking a look at me and shaking hands with a Presidential candidate, but some are very free with advice in reference to the campaign and the course of my administration after I become President, which I always receive in a friendly spirit, whether I consider it of any value or not. To those who seek an expression of my particular views I generally respond by referring them to the Chicago platform and to my debates with Douglas and my other speeches.

I have made up my mind to remain in Springfield during the campaign and to be "at home" to all visitors whatsoever, whether they are Jew or Gentiles, saints or sinners, Republicans or Democrats; and I expect to show due courtesy and respect to all who want to pay their "respects" to the Republican candidate for President, whether they are my supporters or not.

SPRINGFIELD, August 8, 1860.—Such a Republican rally as we had in Springfield to-day can not be other than a sure prophecy of victory in November. The people and "Wide Awake Clubs" came from all parts of the state, the procession that passed my residence being several miles in length.

I am receiving occasional letters from Kentucky and

other border slave states written by persons who beg me to publish some assurance that I am not an Abolitionist and do not expect to interfere with slavery where it now exists, to all which I reply that I have published such a declaration again and again, and that if people do not believe what I have already said, they will not believe it if I should say it a hundred times over. In the language of Scripture, "If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one arose from the dead!"

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., October 15, 1860.—The recent elections in Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania all went Republican by handsome majorities, Henry S. Lane being elected Governor of Indiana by some 10,000 majority, and Andrew G. Curtin Governor of Pennsylvania by some 30,000. These victories added to those obtained in Maine and Vermont in September indicate my election "beyond a reasonable doubt."

During the campaign I have had a number of hazy dreams concerning a secession movement in South Carolina and other Southern States, in which I thought I heard some very loud declamation from "Southern fire-eaters" and saw some military preparations; but I have too much faith in the patriotism of both the Northern and the Southern people to believe that any serious efforts will be made to dissolve the Union merely on account of my election. But what mean such ugly dreams?

SPRINGFIELD, November 1, 1860.—Senator Seward, of New York, has returned form his speaking tour in the Northwestern states, and at his home city of Auburn delivered an address, in which he made the very significant declaration, that my election would be "the end of the power of slavery in the United States." Heaven grant that his prophecy may prove true.

SPRINGFIELD, November 6, 1860.—I stayed at the telegraph office to-night until the election returns showed that I had carried all the free states, with the possible exception of New Jersey, California and Oregon, which result gives me a clear majority of the electoral college.

Of course I rejoice over the result—who wouldn't rejoice in my place?—but it is a very serious reflection with me, that not a single state south of Mason and Dixon's line gave me an electoral vote, and that in the ten states of

North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, Florida and Texas, I did not receive a single popular vote, there being no Republican electoral ticket in those States. Still I hope that by the grace of God I will prove myself the true friend and faithful servant of all the people, both North and South, as truly as Washington was.

Before leaving the telegraph office I made up my mind, that it would be a wise policy to invite my rivals for the Republican nomination, Seward, Chase and Bates, and perhaps Cameron, into my Cabinet; and I believe the people will approve such a selection.

SPRINGFIELD, November 7, 1860.—At the very height of our rejoicing over the result of the election comes very ominous news from South Carolina. Governor Gist called a special session of the Legislature on the 5th inst. to choose Presidential electors in accordance with the laws of the state, recommending that in case of my election a Convention be called to consider the proper means of redress and giving his opinion that secession is the only alternative left. He also recommended a reorganization of the State militia and the acceptance of ten thousand volunteers for such service as may be necessary. It is very hard for me to believe that even the people of that state can be led into secession and rebellion before my inauguration and without any unfriendly act on the part of my administration—but what am I to think of these plain facts?

SPRINGFIELD, November 10, 1860.—The returns from the election are all in, and I have carried the doubtful states of Oregon and California, and I will have ~~three~~ four of New Jersey's seven electoral votes, which will give me 180 electoral votes in all, a majority of 57 over all others. Breckenridge will have 72 electoral votes, Bell 39, and Douglas only 12, three from New Jersey and nine from Missouri. But Douglas has twice as many popular votes as Bell and nearly twice as many as Breckinridge. While I have nearly half a million more popular votes than Douglas, the three other candidates have an aggregate of nearly a million majority over me; so I will be only a plurality President on the popular vote.

CHAPTER XI.

Secession—Secession—Secession!

Springfield, Nov. 13, 1860.—The news from South Carolina grows worse instead of better. Yesterday the Legislature passed a bill providing for a convention to meet on December 17th, the delegates to be chosen on the 6th of that month, all with the avowed purpose of secession. I am very relucant to think that other states will join in such a movement; but on the other hand, I have my fears and misgivings, that there is a secret understanding between South Carolina and other Southern states, else she would not be taking such precipitate action.

Springfield, November 15, 1860.—In a speech in response to a serenade from my neighbors and fellow citizens to-night I gave them my hearty thanks for their support and their interest in the Republican cause and expressed the hope that there would be no hard feelings toward any of our opponents either North or South, as "We Americans are all citizens of a common country and should always dwell together in the bonds of true fraternal feeling."

Springfield, November 20, 1860.—I have been much interested in reading the speech of Alexander H. Stephens against the secession movement from the fact that he is my personal friend and was a co-laborer in a number of Whig campaigns in past years. His arguments against secession are so clear and cogent, that I am hoping he will do something to arrest the progress of secession in Georgia and other Southern states.

Springfield, December 5, 1860.—What am I to think of the message which President Buchanan transmitted to Congress yesterday? After charging our troubles on the Republican party and dwelling at some length on the wrongs which he claims the South has suffered from the North, he proposes as a remedy "an amendment of the Constitution," which would expressly recognize the institution of slavery in the states where it now exists and declare it to be the duty of Congress to protect it in all the territories, thus asking the people, under threats of secession, to reverse the verdict they have just rendered at the polls against the extension of slavery into the territories.

The message takes the ground that the Union was intended to be perpetual, that no state has a constitutional right to secede from the Union, and that secession is equivalent to revolution. But on the other hand, while he declares it to be the duty of the Executive to enforce the laws throughout the country, the President claims that neither Congress nor the Executive has any Constitutional power to coerce a state or maintain the Union by the exercise of military force. "Congress has many means of preserving the Union by conciliation," he says, "but the sword was never placed in its hands to preserve it by force."

And thus he leaves the question in hopeless confusion and contradiction — rather in conglomerate conglomeration. Although Mr. Buchanan is fortified in his position that the government has no right to exercise any force against secession by the official opinion of so able and learned a lawyer as Attorney-General Black, his message will add nothing to his reputation as President and statesman, but will be more likely to finish whatever reputation he had left.

I certainly want to be charitable to Mr. Buchanan. I consider his great age, I realize how hard it would be for him to defy the counsels of his life-long political associates to whom he owes his office, I believe that he loves peace and harmony more than strife and contention, and I myself share in his horror of civil war or at the bare suggestion of such a thing; nevertheless I deplore this message and fear it will give encouragement to the secession movement that bodes no good to the country. I also fear that it will cause foreign nations to look upon our government as the "mere rope of sand," which he declares the founders of the government never intended it to be.

I have just seen Senator Seward's pithy remarks concerning this message, "It proves two things — first, that no state has a right to secede unless it wants to, and, second, that it is the President's duty to enforce the laws, unless somebody opposes him."

Senator Hale, of New Hampshire, also characterizes the message as consisting of three propositions: "First, South Carolina has just cause for seceding; second, she has no right to secede; third, the government has no right or power to prevent her seceding."

SPRINGFIELD, December 9, 1860. — I have read with

great pleasure the report of a Union speech delivered in the Senate by Senator Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, in which he vigorously denounces the whole secession movement as uunlawful and unnecessary, and declares that while Congress has no constitutional power to coerce a state in its sovereign capacity, it is the right and duty of the President to execute the laws by whatever force may be necessary.

SPRINGFIELD, December 15, 1860.— To-day's papers inform us that General Cass resigned his position as Secretary of State yesterday, after a long and exciting session of the Cabinet on account of Buchanan's refusal to reinforce Major Anderson who, with less than one hundred men, is holding the forts in Charleston harbor, Attorney-General Black being appointed in Cass's place and Edwin M. Stanton in Black's place. From my experience with Stanton in Cincinnati some years ago, I do not believe he will adhere to Black's opinion denying the right of the government to maintain itself against secession, and there are some intimations that Black himself will take a different view when he sees the fatal consequences of his official opinion.

SPRINGFIELD, December 16, 1860. — I have written a letter to Hon. E. B. Washburn, of our state, requesting him to inform General Scott that I will be very grateful to him for any action he may take to hold or retake any United States forts as the case may require, at and after the inauguration.

SPRINGFIELD, December 17, 1860.— I have received a letter from Representative Kellogg, who, as a member of the committee of thirty-three (one from each state) appointed by the lower house of Congress to devise a plan for the settlement of our difficulties, in which letter he asks me for any counsel or advice I may wish to give him. In reply I have told him explicity to ENTERTAIN NO COMPROMISE IN REFERENCE TO THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY; for as soon as this is done, they will have us under, and we will have all our work to do over again. I will no doubt be censured for taking this position, but much as I dread even the thought of civil war, I deem it of the utmost importance that the verdict of the people on this question shall stand until the people themselves shall see fit to reverse it—which I do not believe they will ever do. I will not do it; and I

WILL SUFFER DEATH, as I have written to another of my supporters, before I will enter into any bargain or contract whereby I am permitted to assume the duties of the presidency after the people have duly chosen me for that purpose.

SPRINGFIELD, December 18, 1860.—The Washington "Constitution" of last Saturday contained an address or manifesto signed by about thirty senators and representatives from the nine cotton states, declaring that all hope of relief or remedy is exhausted, and that all slave-holding states should speedily withdraw from the Union and organize themselves into a "Southern Confederacy."

And this in face of the fact that I will not be inaugurated President for nearly three months, and that they can point to no unfriendly act (or utterance) on my part. How clear it ought to be to every one that my election by the people is the only "grievance" the South can claim. I can only hope that the Southern people can not be "coerced" into a compliance with this call of their senators and representatives.

SPRINGFIELD, December 22, 1860.—As anticipated the South Carolina convention passed an ordinance of secession day before yesterday, or rather an ordinance declaring that "the ordinance adopted by the state in the convention held May 23, 1788, whereby the constitution of the United States was ratified, is hereby repealed, and that the Union of South Carolina with other states is dissolved."

SPRINGFIELD, December 25, 1860.—I have given very close attention to the deliberations of the Senate Committee of thirteen and the House Committee of thirty-three (one from each state) who are trying to devise some means of settling our difficulties; but as the Southern leaders show little or no disposition to remain in the Union on any terms whatsoever, the proposed concessions and "guarantees," (all of which, it is very plain to me, are devised in the interest of slavery and look to the strengthening and perpetuating of that institution), seem almost farcical. And although I have never been a worshiper at the shrine of Andrew Jackson, there are times when I wish he could arise up from his tomb and declare in the ears of all the people: "THE FEDERAL UNION—IT MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED!"

SPRINGFIELD, December 31, 1860.— The news that Major Anderson, on the night of the 26th inst., had evacuated Fort Moultrie in Charleston harbor and transferred his garrison to the stronger fortress of Fort Sumter has thrilled the hearts of all friends of the Union, although it has caused quite an uproar in secession circles. There are rumors from Washington to the effect that the Administration is very much embarrassed by this act of Major Anderson on account of an understanding between Buchanan and the South Carolina Congressman that the military status in Charleston harbor should remain unchanged pending the action of the Charleston convention, and that the government would not reinforce the forts in the harbor unless they were actually attacked or were about to be attacked.

There are also reports from Washington to the effect that the three South Carolina "Commissioners" who arrived in Washington on the 26th inst. had an interview with Buchanan and actually made a "demand" on him — poor Buchanan! — for the return of Anderson's garrison to Fort Moultrie. Buchanan, it is said, was inclined to comply with this demand, but under threats of resignation from Secretary Black (who seems to have undergone a change of opinion concerning the right of the government to protect and maintain itself), and Attorney-General Stanton, he decided to leave Major Anderson in possession of Fort Sumter. Whereupon John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, against whom serious charges of dishonesty were pending, resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, a reliable friend of the Union, was appointed in his place. John A. Dix, of New York, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury in place of Howell Cobb, who resigned on the 10th inst., leaving the Treasury almost bankrupt. With these four reliable supporters of the government in the Cabinet, we may at least hope that during the remainder of his term Mr. Buchanan will be more anxious to maintain the government than to please and satisfy the secession leaders. And to do him justice I don't think for a moment that he wants to see the government of the Union overthrown.

CHARLESTON, ILLS., January 5, 1861.— I have spent most of the day with my devoted step-mother, near this place. She enjoyed my visit greatly; but on parting with

her she seemed very much oppressed in her feelings at the thought of my leaving Springfield and going to Washington. With many tears in her eyes she declared she would never see me again, for they would be sure to kill me before my time was out. Just whom she meant by "they" I did not ask her to tell me. Very many friends in Springfield have also expressed the fear they would never see me after I leave Springfield; but I will not be concerned about my own fate in such a crisis as we are now in.

Springfield, January 10, 1861.— I have just read the message of Governor Letcher, of Virginia, to the Legislature of that state, in which he vigorously protests against the efforts of South Carolina and other cotton states to force Virginia into secession. He declares most emphatically that he would resist Southern coercion as readily as Northern coercion; but whether he will stand firm against all the influences that will be employed to secure the secession of Virginia remains to be seen.

Springfield, January 12, 1861.— Day before yesterday the steamer, "Star of the West," sent by the government with supplies and some 200 soldiers under command of Captain Charles R. Woods, of the Ninth U. S. Infantry, (whose home is Newark, Ohio), arrived at Charleston harbor, and on attempting to steam up to Fort Sumter was fired on from Fort Moultrie and a battery from Morris Island. Being struck by a shot and having no means for resisting such an attack, she put about and returned to New York. It is not for me to say how this manifest act of war should be treated by the Administration; but I do wonder what Washington or Jackson or even Jefferson would have done, if such an insult had been offered to our flag while he was President.

Springfield, January 14, 1861.— No small degree of attention and interest has been given to Senator Seward's speech in the Senate day before yesterday, on account of his having accepted the position of Secretary of State in my Cabinet. Some of the more radical Republicans are dissatisfied with it on account of its conciliatory tone, and because instead of threatening the use of force to overcome the secession movement, he said he "would meet prejudice with conciliation, exaction with concession which surrenders no principle, and violence with the right hand

of peace." But throughout the whole speech was the loftiest sentiment of devotion to the Union, which to my mind is the gospel which needs to be preached both North and South; and hence I believe his speech will have a beneficial effect on the minds of all the people. The country does not want war, if it can be avoided without dishonor.

SPRINGFIELD, January 30, 1861.—It gives me great pleasure to record that the bill for the admission of Kansas into the Union under the Wyandotte constitution has passed both houses of Congress, and has been signed by President Buchanan. All hail Free Kansas!—the thirty-fourth star in the flag of our Union. To quote from Sumner's famous speech for which he was assaulted by Brooks, "Kansas will yet be a 'ministering angel' to the Republic, when South Carolina in the cloak of darkness which she hugs" — but I must not repeat the fate which he prophesied for her!

SPRINGFIELD, January 31, 1861.—During one of the first nights of this month I dreamed that in some mysterious way I was the spectator of a secret caucus of a few Southern Senators in Washington which was presided over and seemed to be entirely controlled by Jefferson Davis. At this caucus a resolution was passed urging all Southern States to secede at once and prepare to organize a separate government not later than the middle of the coming February. Another resolution was passed appointing Mr. Davis and two other senators a committee to carry this purpose into effect. This was only a dream, but it is no dream that the secession movement has spread with marvelous rapidity, and in a manner clearly indicating that it is being inspired by a master mind and guided by a master hand or hands. Following the lead of South Carolina, the Mississippi convention passed an ordinance of secession on the 9th inst., the Florida convention on the 10th, the Alabama convention on the 11th, the Georgia convention on the 19th and the Louisiana convention on the 26th, not one of these states submitting its ordinance to the vote of its people. Still more significant are the signs of military preparation and the seizing of government property wherever it is within their reach. And I can not free my mind from apprehensions that the same systematic effort will be made to lead the other slave states

into secession without regard to the will of their people and even in defiance of that will.

SPRINGFIELD, February 6, 1861.— Although the Congressional committees at Washington are earnestly laboring to devise some settlement of our difficulties, the convention of seceded states met in Montgomery, Ala., a day or two since and proceeded to the work of adopting a constitution and organizing an independent government.

SPRINGFIELD, February 7, 1861.—Gov. Sam Houston, of Texas, refused to call a convention in the interest of the secession movement, but the secessionists of that state called one themselves, and on the 1st of this month voted the state out of the Union, thus adding the seventh state to the "Confederacy," which Mr. Davis and his colleagues are bent on organizing at Montgomery.

SPRINGFIELD, February 8, 1861.— I spent two or three hours in the office with Herndon to-day, closing up some business and reviewing some of our legal experiences. I lay on the office lounge most of the time; and when I left I told him to leave the old sign, "Lincoln and Herndon," hanging at the door, as I expected to take up practice again after my term as President was up, expressing the hope that serving four years as President wouldn't unfit me for the duties of a practicing attorney.

CHAPTER XII.

FAREWELL TO SPRINGFIELD.

SPRINGFIELD, February 10, 1861.— This is my last Sunday and my last full day in Springfield. During all the day, even during the services at church, the history of Washington and the Revolution has been on my mind, and I have silently prayed that the Almighty would give me the necessary wisdom for my great task, even as he gave Washington the wisdom that he needed. I have never connected myself with any Christian church or avowed any theological creed, but in this crisis of our country, we cannot hope to settle our difficulties without the guidance and support that can come from God alone.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., February 11, 1861.— Our train left Springfield this morning and arrived here just before nightfall. Although a pretty severe snowstorm prevailed

at the time, a large number of people were at the depot to see me off. And while they all cheered me very loudly, as the train pulled out, I saw something in their faces that seemed like an appeal to me not to leave them. And I stood on the platform and kept my eyes on the city as long as it was visible.

I made them a short address just before we started, in which I expressed my feeling of sadness at leaving the city where I had lived for a quarter of a century, where my four children were born and one of them is buried. I told them I KNEW NOT WHEN OR WHETHER I SHOULD EVER RETURN, and invoked their prayers in my behalf that I might have wisdom given me for my great task. The cordial greeting I received at various stations on the way cheered me up considerably, and here I was greeted with a most magnificent reception, and made an address in which I reminded the people that the preservation of the government depended on them as truly as on the President or the Congress. I also reminded my audience that I would not be frightened by the bugbears of "invasion" and "coercion" from the duty of executing the laws in all the states of the Union, although I had no desire to irritate or humiliate the people of any state. The responses to what I said on this point showed me very clearly the extent of the people's devotion to the Union and of their desire for its maintenance.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, February 12, 1861.— In response to my reception here I made a short address in which I again "shot over the line" and assured the people of Kentucky and other Southern states that they were my friends and brethren, and that I should ever recognize them as such during my Administration.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, February 12, 1861.— Just after giving a short address to the Legislature of this state, I received a telegram from Washington informing me that the count of the electoral vote had taken place before the two houses of Congress and that Vice-President Breckenridge had declared me the duly elected President of the United States!

NEW YORK CITY, February 19, 1861.— The papers of this morning give us the significant information that Jefferson Davis, was yesterday inaugurated President, and my old

Whig friend, Alex. H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President, of the so-called "Southern Confederacy," at Montgomery, Alabama, yesterday. The constitution adopted by the convention of Southern delegates who chose Mr. Davis as their President is similar to the constitution of the United States in form and in most of its provisions, but it recognizes slavery as an institution to be forever sustained, and provides that in all territory hereafter acquired that institution shall be duly recognized and protected by Congress. In his inaugural Mr. Davis asserts that in withdrawing from the Union the Southern states are only exercising their "reserved rights" under the Constitution and are not inaugurating a revolution. If the South can not avoid war, he claims that posterity will not charge her with provoking it; but at the same time he urged his Congress (or Convention) to provide for both an army and navy "more numerous than would be required as a peace establishment."

In view of this formal organization of the insurrection, how vain and farcical seem all the efforts of the Congressional committees to devise such an adjustment of our difficulties as will be satisfactory to the South. And equally futile as I anticipate, will be the labors of the "Peace Congress" of some twenty states that commenced its deliberations in Washington on the 4th inst., under the presidency of Ex-President Tyler.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., February 21, 1861.— After a journey of a few days in New York state and the delivery of addresses at various points besides New York City, we passed through Trenton, New Jersey, to-day. In my address there I told the people how deep an impression the reading of Weems' "Life of Washington" had made on me in the days of my boyhood, and that no part of Washington's history had effected my imagination like his crossing the Delaware river in the night and capturing the Hessian soldiers at Trenton. In the course of my remarks I reminded my audience that while no man loved peace more than I did, it might become necessary to PUT THE FOOT DOWN FIRMLY. The loud cheers with which my audience greeted this declaration made me realize their confidence that if it became necessary to do this in order to maintain the government, I would not fail in the discharge of my duty.

Then I appealed to the audience to sustain me in my great task, because if I failed to steer the ship of state through the storms which now threatened her, NO PILOT WOULD EVER BE NEEDED FOR ANOTHER VOYAGE!

On my arrival here I was introduced by my friend, N. B. Judd, to a detective named Pinkerton, who informed me that a plot was being hatched against my life at Baltimore, and he therefore urged me to hasten to Washington at once without showing myself at Baltimore, which he represented as a "hotbed of secession." Mr. Judd and other friends, besides F. W. Seward, who brought a message from Senator Seward, his father, of the same import, gave me similar advice, but I told them I had promised to raise the flag at Independence Hall tomorrow morning, and to address the Pennsylvania Legislature in the afternoon and that I must keep these appointments.

ON THE WAY TO WASHINGTON, February 22, 1861.—After the flag raising in honor of Washington's birthday at Independence Hall this morning I was called upon for a speech, and although not expecting such a call I managed to express the peculiar feelings which the day and the occasion had awakened in my mind and to inform the people that I hoped to see our government firmly established on the principle enunciated in the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal. I declared that I would rather be assassinated on the spot—what made me think of such a thing as assassination at the time I certainly do not know — than surrender that principle; for I considered it a good enough principle to live by and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, TO DIE BY!

When I returned to Philadelphia from Harrisburg tonight, I found that all arrangements were made for my proceeding forthwith to Washington, incognito, to which I could only accede. This secret journey by night is not at all agreeable to my feelings; but the information of the detective and the message of Seward were so urgent as to give me no other choice. In my whole life I have never been accused of cowardice, but as President-elect I would not be justified in encountering any unnecessary danger, even if I have to suffer misrepresentation and ridicule on account of my caution.

CHAPTER XIII.

Exit Buchanan — Enters Lincoln.

Washington, February 23, 1861.— Our train arrived here at 6 o'clock this morning, and I was met at the depot by Seward and Washburn, each of whom gave me a cordial greeting and expressed great pleasure on account of my safe arrival. Seward has frequently been spoken of as the "Premier" of my administration; and there was something in his tone and manner indicating that he expected to be the guiding spirit, at least the main prop of the government during the coming four years — in other words that he is to be the "power behind the throne," while I will only be the King sitting on the throne, but I am not at all concerned about that. Wishing to avail myself of any advice he may offer me, I have submitted a copy of my Inaugural address, as carefully prepared at Springfield, to his examination, and asked him to suggest any changes he may deem desirable.

Washington, February 25, 1861.— The news has reached Washington that Brigadier-General Twiggs, whom Secretary Floyd appears to have designedly placed in command of the Texas department, has surrendered all his forces and all the government property under his authority to General Ben McCulloch, representing the State of Texas, for which act he (Twiggs) has been very properly dismissed from the United States service. So at the very beginning of my administration I will have to face facts like these: Loss of the state of Texas and control of the Mexican frontier; Fort Pulaski at the mouth of the Savannah river occupied by insurgent troops; Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney in Charleston harbor occupied, and Fort Sumter menaced by South Carolina forces; Forts Jackson and St. Philip below New Orleans occupied by Louisiana troops and Fort Morgan in Mobile bay occupied by the troops of Alabama, leaving out of view the arms and other munitions of war that have been seized and stolen by the rebels.

Washington, February 28, 1861.— I have been very much occupied since my arrival. Have called on the President and his Cabinet, on Congress and on the Supreme

Court, by all of whom I was treated with the utmost courtesy, although I could see a pretty large INTERROGATION POINT in most of their faces as they turned their eyes toward me. The callers at my hotel I might describe as an innumerable multitude that no man can number. All of them abound in expressions of goodwill and some of them abound in advice and counsel to which I listen with due courtesy and in some cases with pretty close attention.

Seward has returned the copy of my Inaugural, which I submitted to his criticism, with the recommendation of a few changes, the most important of which is that I leave out the paragraph in which I declare that I will always adhere to the platform on which I was elected. It seemed to me but right and fair to all parties that I should make this declaration, but Seward earnestly urges that it is not at all necessary at this time, and that it would aid the secessionists of Maryland and Virginia in driving their states into the secession movement. As there is no sacrifice of principle in omitting this paragraph I think I will comply with Seward's suggestion; for this will enable me to lay the emphasis of my Inaugural on the points, that the government of our Union was intended to be perpetual, that secession means revolution, and that it is the duty of the Executive to execute the laws and maintain the integrity of the Union.

In the closing paragraphs of my Inaugural I make an earnest appeal to the Southern people to go slow, to deliberate, and at least to await developments before they rush blindly into the revolution which has been inaugurated by their leaders, solemnly reminding them that the momentous issue of civil war is in their hands, and not in mine. "The government," I positively declare, "will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend it.'"

Seward also advised that instead of closing my Inaugural with the pointed question: "Shall it be peace or a sword?" which I addressed to the people of the South, I should speak "some words of affection — some of calm and cheerful confidence." He accordingly furnished me with the draft for a closing paragraph, which I have changed

so it will read: "I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends — we must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and every patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when touched, as they surely will be, by the better angels of our nature."

WASHINGTON, March 1, 1861.— I came to Washington with my mind made up in reference to my Cabinet, provided I found no reason for a change. I not only think it would be wise to recognize all elements of the party in the Cabinet, but I very particularly desire Seward's services as Secretary of State and Chase's as Secretary of the Treasury; for I have a very decided feeling that I WILL NEED THEM BOTH, and that no other men can fill those positions as well as they can. So I have prevailed on them both to resign their seats in the Senate and accept the positions I have offered them, assuring them that this sacrifice on their part is for the country's good. To certain Republicans who complain because I have chosen four men of Democratic antecedents — Chase, Cameron, Wells and Blair — and only three of Whig antecedents, Seward, Smith and Bates, I have replied by reminding them that I am something of a Whig myself and hope I will be strong enough to preserve a proper balance if necessary.

The "Peace Congress," composed of delegates from some twenty states, presided over by Ex-President Tyler (whom I had almost forgotten until he appeared in this role), which has been in session in Washington since the 4th inst., has adjourned without day, and the delegates have all returned to their homes. Whether Tyler and the other Southern delegates really wanted to stay in the Union I know not; but they certainly seemed more anxious to secure concessions from the government in behalf of the slave interest than to arrest the secession movement.

WASHINGTON, March 4. — The Inauguration ceremonies passed off very pleasantly, although it pained me somewhat that there should be any necessity for the complete military protection provided by General Scott, in which task he was most heartily supported by President Buchanan.

The crowd assembled in front of the Capitol was a very large one, and it seemed to me I could read in their faces, from the highest official to the humblest citizen, an expression of sympathy for me in view of the great task I had assumed. I also thought I could read in many faces the query whether this man from Illionis would be equal to his task. Douglas, I was much pleased to notice, stood close to my side and manifested his friendliness and goodwill by holding my hat during the ceremonies. Whatever unfavorable judgment I may have passed on Mr. Buchanan during the four years of his Administration, the courtesy and consideration he has shown to me since my arrival in Washington have been all and more than all I could ask; and the hearty grasp of my hand and the assurance of his best wishes for myself and the welfare of the country will be gratefully remembered and cherished as long as I live.

CHAPTER XIV.

Civil War — Civil War — Civil War!

Washington, March 5, 1861.— The responsibilities of my new position were impressed on me most clearly this morning by receiving a note from Mr. Holt, who is still acting as Secretary of War, in which I am officially informed that Major Anderson reports his position at Fort Sumter as very precarious, that his provisions would only last a few weeks longer and that a force of 20,000 men would be needed to re-enforce him and furnish supplies for a permanent holding of the fort.

I immediately sought conference with General Scott, and after examining Anderson's report, he informed me that the evacuation of the Fort seems almost inevitable. So I could only refer the papers in the case to him for further investigation, giving him directions to exercise the utmost vigilance in the maintenance of all military positions in the United States and authorizing him to call upon all departments of the government for the means necessary to that end.

Washington, March 8, 1861.— In addition to all other questions which I have to consider at this beginning of my administration is the attitude of European powers toward

the recently organized Southern Confederacy. I have realized from the start that Buchanan's non-coercion message, and his failure to re-enforce the Southern forts when so advised by General Scott, with the unopposed military preparations of the South and the organization of the Davis government, have caused foreign governments to form a very unfavorable opinion of our purpose and ability to maintain our government. And when to all these facts we add the desire of European nations to obtain cheap cotton and secure free trade with America, I have feared they would all be inclined to encourage the secession movement and at least to hope for its success.

Mr. Seward, who assumed the duties of Secretary of State as soon as he was confirmed by the Senate, has accordingly forwarded a circular letter to our foreign ministers, stating the confidence of my administration in the continuance of the Union, and declaring that this government had not relinquished and did not intend to relinquish its jurisdiction within the territory of the seceded states.

WASHINGTON, March 9, 1861.—The first council of my Cabinet was held to-day, at which I made known to them the situation at Fort Sumter, and asked their opinions as to what should be done. They were all not only surprised but astounded; and the only conclusion we reached was that if Fort Sumter is relieved, it will have to be done within thirty or forty days, at most.

WASHINGTON, March 12, 1861.— Captain G. V. Fox, of the Navy, has submitted a plan for preparing an expedition to re-enforce Major Anderson and supply his garrison with provisions by "running the batteries" at Fort Moultrie and on Morris Island. The Captain, who is a brother-in-law of Postmaster-General Blair, has such faith in the feasibility of his plan that he is willing to risk his life in the effort to carry it into execution.

WASHINGTON, March 16, 1861.— In view of Captain Fox's plan for reinforcing Fort Sumter, I submitted to the Cabinet to-day the question whether, assuming the possibility of reinforcing Fort Sumter, it would be wise to make the attempt under all the existing circumstances; and they have all returned me their written answers, only Chase and Blair favoring the effort. In view of the opinion of General Scott that the Fort is untenable and that five of my

seven Cabinet councilors do not favor an effort to reenforce it, I can not take the responsibility of accepting Captain Fox's plan, neither can I make up my mind to accept General Scott's advice to evacuate the Fort. I have, therefore, directed Captain Fox to repair to Fort Sumter in person and report the result of his observations at as early a day as possible.

Meantime I have directed General Scott to send reenforcements to Fort Pickens, at the entrance of Pensacola harbor, in the hope that if Fort Sumter must be evacuated, the holding of Pickens will satisfy the country that I am adhering to the policy of holding all the Forts and other property of the government to the very best of my ability.

WASHINGTON, March 22, 1861.— My old Whig associate and personal friend, Alexander H. Stevens, of Georgia, who was inaugurated as Vice-President of the Confederacy on the some day that Jefferson Davis was inaugurated as its President, delivered a speech in Savannah, in his state, yesterday, in which he declared that the Confederate Constitution preserved all that was desirable in the Federal Constitution, while it made a number of important improvements on that instrument, among them being the provision against protective tariff duties and the provision of a single term of six years for the occupant of the presidential office.

But the great superiority of the Confederate Constitution, he asserts, consists in the fact that it recognizes slavery as the natural and proper state of the African race and makes that institution the "corner-stone" of the new government. The negro is so inferior to the white man, he asserts, that subjection to the superior race is according to the will of the Creator, and it is not for us to question the wisdom of the Creator or seek to reverse his laws.

This speech of Stephens' ought to enable us all to see the purpose for which the secession movement was inaugurated; and if any Northern citizen is praying for the success of the Confederacy, he surely ought to know what he is praying for.

WASHINGTON, March 28, 1861.— For three full weeks past, I have been like St. Paul, "in a strait betwixt two"— and what a fearful strait it is! Major Anderson is hold-

ing Fort Sumter with his little garrison, but his provisions will only last a few weeks, and he may be attacked and forced to surrender or witness the slaughter of his garrison at any time. To attempt to re-enforce him and supply his command with provisions by force would be a very hazardous experiment; and it might precipitate the remaining slave states into secession and might cause my administration to be charged with provoking a civil war between the North and the South. On the other hand, to order the evacuation of the Fort under the present circumstances (even if it be conceded that from a military standpoint the possession of it is of no particular value to the government), would almost seem like a recognition of the Southern Confederacy and might be followed with most serious consequences both to my administration and the country. By day and also by night WHILE OTHER MEN SLEPT, I have wrestled with this question, since whatever confidence the people have that I will decide this question honestly, they will hold me responsible if I decide it unwisely.

To-day I laid before the Cabinet the report of Captain Fox, who has returned from Charleston with the details of his plan for reinforcing Fort Sumter, together with the opinion of General Scott that Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens should both be evacuated. They were all opposed to the evacuation of Fort Pickens, but remained divided in opinion concerning Fort Sumter. I therefore invited them to meet me again to-morrow for further consideration of the situation. But whatever opinions they may furnish me, whatever advice they may offer, the supreme responsibility rests on me. I must decide, I must determine what action is to be taken. But I have reached no decision yet except the directing of Captain Fox to get his expedition ready and await orders.

Last night, after walking the floor until midnight, I again dreamed that I saw Moses and Washington standing on the summit of a mountain and desiring me to come and stand beside them. This time the mountain seemed much higher, my ascent was more difficult and much more dangerous than before, and the time was prolonged from day to day, then from week to week, and then from year to year. But against all difficulties and disregarding all dangers, I pressed on without once looking backward, until I

again stood by their side and heard their salutation and welcome; and then I awoke.

WASHINGTON, April 1, 1861.—Early to-day I received a letter from Secretary Seward with the heading "Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration," in which he makes complaint, that at the end of one month the Administration is without any policy, foreign or domestic, and that further delay will be attended with scandal and danger. He therefore proposes that we should change the question before the country from one relating to slavery to one of Union or Disunion—as if those questions could be separated! He advises the evacuation of Fort Sumter, since the holding of that Fort is REGARDED as a slavery or party question, but would reinforce Fort Pickens and retain possession of all other Forts in the Southern states. As to foreign affairs he would demand explanations from European nations, and if necessary, convene Congress and declare war against them. He says he would also send agents into Canada, Mexico and Central America to stir up a continental spirit against European intervention.

Having given this brief outline of his proposed policy, he closes by saying that whatever policy is adopted should be vigorously prosecuted, and that it should be directed at all times by either the President or some member of his Cabinet, and that when adopted all debates should cease, and all agree and abide. This task, he says, is not his especial province, but he will shrink from no responsibility that may devolve upon him.

After reading this communication I decided to answer it at once. In reference to his complaint of no policy I referred him to my Inaugural declaring my purpose to hold and occupy the Forts and other property of the government, which is the very domestic policy he now urges upon me with the single qualification that it does not include the evacuation of Fort Sumter — to which I can not give my consent!

In reference to our foreign policy I thought no answer would be the best answer to his proposal to stir up a war with European nations, but I reminded him that this was his first complaint of our being short of a foreign policy.

In answer to his closing proposition that some one person should direct the policy of the Administration with

little or no discussion on the part of others, I remarked that if this is to be done, I MUST DO IT, but that I desired and expected to receive the advice of ALL the members of my Cabinet.

This answer has been duly placed in Mr. Seward's hands without my giving it the heading, "Some Thoughts for the Secretary of State's Consideration," and both letter and answer will be kept secret from all other persons, unless Mr. Seward himself wishes them to be made public. Neither will I ever allude to the subject in my conversations with him, unless he does.

WASHINGTON, April 8, 1861.—Captain Fox's expedition for the relief of Fort Sumter sailed yesterday, and will probably reach its destination by the 11th or 12th inst. His instructions are that if Fort Sumter has not been attacked, to procure an interview with Governor Pickens and notify him that an effort will be made to supply the garrison with provisions only, and that if this is not resisted, no attempt will be made to send in re-enforcements of men, arms or ammunition.

I think by this means that I will satisfy the country—for I must depend on the country for support in whatever action is taken—that I am doing my best to maintain the government without provoking war; and I also believe that if the effort to supply our soldiers with provisions be resisted, it will be such an act of war on the part of the insurgents as will place all the responsibility on those who are trying to destroy the Union instead of those who are trying to preserve it. If the Confederate authorities permit these supplies to be sent into the Fort without resistance after all their military preparations, their "government" will fall by its own weight; if they assail the flag of our government, the consequences will be on their own heads.

WASHINGTON, April 10, 1861.—The successful re-enforcement of Fort Pickens by Gen. Meigs of the Army and Captain D. D. Porter of the Navy gives me great satisfaction; but I can have little rest day or night until I hear definite news from Charleston, as I realize so clearly that "the momentous issue of Civil War," of which I spoke in my Inaugural, will soon be determined.

Meantime I am so beset—almost overwhelmed—by visits of office-seekers from all parts of the country, that I

only liken myself to a proprietor of an apartment house letting out his rooms, while a fierce fire is raging in the building and threatening its complete destruction.

WASHINGTON, April 13, 1861.—The dogs of war are loosed at last—AND MY ADMINISTRATION IS NOT RESPONSIBLE! Because I have attempted to send bread and meat to Major Anderson's garrison, under orders from Montgomery, Gen. Beauregard opened fire on Fort Sumpter yesterday and kept up a fierce bombardment all day—which opens a new, and who knows how important?—a chapter in American history. Whether Capt. Fox's expedition had reached Charleston we do not know; but if it had, it does not appear to have taken part in the conflict.

WASHINGTON, April 14, 1861.—The news from Charleston this morning is to the effect that after suffering a continuous bombardment of twenty-four hours, Major Anderson clearly saw that further resistance would be useless and surrendered Fort Sumter, his garrison being allowed to march out with the honors of war and take passage on a steamer for the North.

I have already prepared a call for 75,000 three months' militia for the suppression of this insurrection, under the act of Congress, passed in 1795, and I have also decided to convene Congress in extra session on the coming fourth of July to provide ways and means for the national defense and the maintenance of the Union.

I was particularly gratified to receive a call from Douglas and to hold a two hours' conference with him, in which he informed me that notwithstanding all our past differences, he would stand by me and support me to the end in all my efforts to enforce the national authority, his only complaint being that I did not call for 200,000 troops instead of 75,000. He said his previous acquaintance with the men at the head of this secession movement had given him a chance to understand their temper and character better than I did. We discussed the situation at considerable length and parted with the most cordial understanding that his utmost influence would be used in Illinois and other northern states in support of the Union cause, as he declared that in this crisis there could be but two parties, patriots and traitors, as he exprssed himself in his most vigorous tones. In all the years of my acquaintance with

Douglas I have rather flattered myself that I knew him through and through; but in this interview, I must confess that he revealed a degree of patriotic sentiment for which I never gave him credit.

WASHINGTON, April 18, 1861.—If the Southern leaders expected as I think they did, that for political and commercial reasons the North would be divided on the question of sustaining the government, how mistaken they were. The attack on Fort Sumter has indeed "fired the Southern heart," but it has also fired the Northern heart. From all the free states I can hear but one voice, and that is for the preservation of the Union. The pulpits are preaching war, and urging men to enlist, war speeches are heard in all public assemblages, soldiers are enlisting and drilling in all the towns and cities, and everywhere is manifested the willingness to make all necessary sacrifices for the maintenance of the government.

The response of the Northern Governors to the call for troops is most hearty and enthusiastic. Gov. Andrew had two Regiments already organized and equipped in anticipation of the call, and they are now on their way to Washington; and all the other northern Governors are making the most earnest efforts to supply their quotas without a day's unnecessary delay, several asking the privilege of furnishing a larger number of troops than we had assigned to them.

But the exceedingly unfavorable responses from the border slave states make me realize that the utmost wisdom and discretion will be needed to keep them from joining the secession movement. Washington himself would find the task a very hard one.

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1861.—Thanks to the energy and foresight of Gov. Andrew, the 6th Massachusetts Infantry arrived in the city this evening, although they were assaulted by a mob while passing through Baltimore, three of their number being killed and some thirty being wounded during the march from one Railroad depot to the other.

I have just issued an executive proclamation declaring that in view of the insurrection existing in the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, the seaports of those states are declared to be in a state of blockade in accordance with the laws of the United States and the laws of nations.

Information has leaked out that the Virginia Convention passed a secret ordinance of secession a day or two since, and that she is preparing to cast her lot with the Southern Confederacy.

WASHINGTON, April 24, 1861.—On account of the burning of Railroad bridges and the tearing up of tracks by the Baltimore secessionists to prevent the passage of troops over Maryland soil, Washington has been almost in a state of siege for the past few days, although there is only a march of twenty miles from Annapolis to Annapolis Junction to be made by our troops before they can be transported by rail to Washington. Have the men of the North no legs? Why do they not come and relieve our suspense? But perhaps they are encountering obstacles that I do not understand, so let me not do them any injustice.

WASHINGTON, April 25, 1861.—Gov. Letcher has issued a proclamation declaring Virginia's separation from the Union and appointing Col. Robert E. Lee, who resigned his commission in the U. S. army a few days ago, commander of all the military forces of the state, which forces Letcher has placed under the orders o the Confederate government. Lee's defection I consider the most serious of all that has occurred among our army officers, as General Scott had intended to place him in command of all U. S. forces that might be engaged in active service. After marching twenty miles yesterday and last night and repairing the Railroad track as they went, the Massachusetts 8th and the New York 7th reached Annapolis Junction early this morning where they met a Railroad train that had come there from Washington yesterday. Embarking at once on this train the 7th New York reached the city about noon and marched up Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House. Loud cheers greeted them at every step, for we all felt that communication was again opened between the supporters of the Union and their government.

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1861.—I have written a letter to Major Robert Anderson, stating that in addition to the official letter of thanks which I caused to be sent to him through the War Department a few days ago, I would be glad to see him in Washington at any time, that I may express my appreciation of the services he rendered the

government at Fort Sumter and perhaps explain some things that he may not have clearly understood.

Have also written a note to Capt. G. V. Fox, who made such an heroic effort to re-enforce Anderson, that his failure to reach the Fort before the bombardment was due to no fault of his, while I myself was perhaps responsible for depriving him of the war vessel which he deemed so important to the success of his enterprise.

CHAPTER XV.

"On to Richmond"—and Back to Washington.

Washington, May 5, 1861.—In view of the active military preparations ordered by the Confederate Congress I have deemed it necessary to anticipate the action of our Congress by issuing a call for 42,000 additional volunteers for three years and for eight additional Regiments of Infantry, one of Cavalry and one of Artillery, to be added to the regular army. This call was issued only two days ago; but the responses that have already come to it indicate very clearly that it will be sustained by the country, and that the requisite number of recruits will soon be obtained.

Washington, May 10, 1861.—A dispatch just received from Mr. Adams, our newly appointed minister to England, gives the information that on his arrival at London he found that the ministry had already published the Queen's proclamation acknowledging the belligerency of the Confederacy, and that France had followed her example. Hence I have grave fears that these two governments have taken this action with a view to recognizing the Confederacy as soon as they may have reason to believe that our Union can not be maintained; and it will therefore be necessary for us to answer Mr. Adams' dispatch in such a manner, that without our giving them any provocation, they will give due heed to our protest against such an act of unfriendliness.

Washington, May 12, 1861.—Captain Nathaniel Lyon surrounded "Camp Jackson" at St. Louis yesterday, with four Regiments of Missouri Volunteers, two Regiments of Home Guards and four pieces of Artillery, compelling a complete surrender of Gov. Jackson's state militia, which he (Jackson) was evidently training for the service of the Confederacy. Which act proves the mettle of Capt.

Lyon and entitles him to the gratitude of all Union supporters.

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1861.—Secretary Seward has formulated a dispatch to Minister Adams vigorously protesting against either official or unofficial intercourse with "the domestic enemies of the United States" on the part of the English ministry, which will cause the English government to understand that it can not be the friend of the Confederacy and of the United States at the same time.

I have however "toned down" Mr. Seward's dispatch somewhat by striking out a few clauses and changing the phraseology of a few others. Among the various changes that I made are these: Where Mr. Seward wrote, "The President is surprised and grieved," I changed the phrase "surprised and grieved" to the simple word "regrets." Where he wrote that "unofficial intercourse with the rebel commissioners would be no less wrongful to us than official intercourse," I have changed the word "wrongful" to the word "hurtful." The sentence, "We intend to have a clear record of whatever issue may arise between us and Great Britain," I have struck out altogether, as the tone of it seemed unfriendly.

Mr. Seward was justly indignant on receiving Mr. Adams' dispatch; but one war at a time is enough for us. We can not even afford to provoke the unfriendliness of the English ministry; for if England should ever recognize the Southern Confederacy, France would be sure to follow her example.

WASHINGTON, May 24, 1861.—Under orders from Gen. Scott a force of 10,000 men under Gen. Mansfield and Gen. McDowell crossed the Potomac to-day and occupied Alexandria and Arlington Heights on "the sacred soil" of Virginia. No resistance was offered; but Col. Ellsworth, of the New York Fire Zouaves, seeing a rebel flag on the roof of a hotel in Alexandria ascended the stairs and hauled it down. On descending the stairs he was met by the proprietor of the hotel who shot him dead. Whereupon one of Ellsworth's men promptly shot the hotel proprietor in turn. The sacrifice of so noble and gallant a soldier as Ellsworth, to whom I was especially attached, grieves me sorely, and it raises the question in my mind whether the

war will not cost far more blood and treasure than either the North or South expect.

WASHINGTON, May 30, 1861.—Gen. Butler commanding our forces at Fortress Monroe has sent to the War Department for its approval or disapproval his order, that fugitive slaves coming within our lines shall not be returned to their masters, but shall be considered CONTRABAND OF WAR, the same as any other "property" of which the military may come into possession; and SecretaryCameron has written that his order is approved. The Secretary has further instructed him to employ all slaves that may come within his lines in any special service for which they are adapted, leaving the final disposition of them for future determination. Ah, this slavery question—what are to do with it as the war proceeds in its course?

The latest news from Richmond is to the effect that Jefferson Davis has arrived in that city, the Confederate Congress which adjourned on the 20th inst., having made Richmond the capital city of the Confederacy.

WASHINGTON, June 4, 1861.—I am deeply pained to learn that Douglas died at his home in Chicago yesterday. The service he rendered the country since the assault on Fort Sumter by his denunciations of the secession movement and his appeals to the people for the vigorous prosecution of the war have had an influence that will continue as long as the struggle lasts. His speeches in behalf of the Union entitle him to the gratitude of all the people and will give his memory a place in their hearts through all future years.

WASHINGTON, June 24, 1861.—The Convention of loyal Virginia delegates now in session in Wheeling have repudiated the ordinance of secession passed at Richmond on April 17th and declared the offices of Gov. Letcher and all other secession officials vacant. The Convention therefore organized a new state government with Francis H. Pierpont at the head and chose senators and representatives to represent the state in Congress.

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1861.—Congress convened to-day in accordance with my call issued after the fall of Fort Sumter, Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, who was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives, delivered an earnest and eloquent address in which he urged the most

vigorous and determined prosecution of the war to sustain the government; and the manner in which his appeal was received showed that his sentiments were fully shared by the representatives of other states.

In my message I recounted the attack on Fort Sumter and other aggressions of the South by which the war was forced on us, and also the measures taken by the Executive to sustain the government, asking authority to enlist 400,000 men and an appropriation of $400,000,000 for the prosecution of the war. At the close of my message I declared that I had been very reluctant to exercise the war power of the government in defense of the Union, but in view of the dangers which threatened our free institutions, I could not shrink from the duty imposed upon me, NOR EVEN COUNT THE CHANCES OF MY OWN LIFE IN PERFORMING IT!

WASHINGTON, July 12, 1861.—Gen. Scott has all along contended that there should be no general forward movement of our army until our troops are better organized and disciplined; but the cry of "On to Richmond" has become so loud and incessant and the desire to prevent the Rebel Congress from assembling there on the 20th inst. is so general throughout the northern states, that he has yielded his objections and ordered Gen. McDowell to make an advance against the enemy's forces in our front with the least possible delay.

WASHINGTON, July 18, 1861.—To-day the advance division of Gen. McDowell's army encountered a portion of the enemy's forces at Blackford's Ford on Bull Run, where an engagement occurred with no other result than the loss of some seventy or eighty men on each side. The plan of battle devised by Gens. Scott and McDowell, I have every reason to believe, is a good one, and it will surely result in our victory, unless some unforeseen cause prevents it. I have suffered some apprehensions that Gen. Beauregard in command of the Southern forces will be re-enforced by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston from the Shenandoah Valley; but Gen. Scott has given particular orders to Gen. Robert Patterson—whose force is amply sufficient for the purpose—to keep Johnston in check and prevent his coming to Beauregard's assistance at all hazards, so I am trying my best to keep my mind easy on that score.

Last night I dreamed that I was making a long and weary journey on a rough and lonely highway, when I was caught in a storm which lasted several hours, during which I could see neither sun nor stars; but before it closed, I raised my eyes upward and saw written on the black sky above me in letters that looked like letters of fire, the words, "The armies of the Union will triumph—AT LAST!" Then I awoke, but could sleep no more.

WASHINGTON, July 21, 1861.—McDowell's attack on the enemy at Bull Run began this morning; and soon after dinner we began to receive dispatches from the battlefield, all of which were based on hearsay, but they gradually became more definite and encouraging, conveying the welcome information that McDowell had driven the enemy two or three miles and was still in pursuit. And since everything seemed so favorable, I ordered my carriage and took my usual afternoon drive; but as soon as I returned I received the very unwelcome information that instead of the victory indicated in the dispatches of the forenoon, McDowell's forces were badly routed and were in full retreat toward Washington.

Dazed and disappointed as we all were, the Cabinet immediately assembled in Gen. Scott's office, when we all turned our attention to preparations for the future. All available troops were ordered to McDowell's support, and McClellan was directed to come down to the Shenandoah Valley with all the troops that could be spared from Western Virginia. A number of non-combatants who had accompanied the army as far as Centerville arrived about midnight and gave very excited, and I hope greatly exaggerated, accounts of the panic which overtook our army.

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1861.—To-day we have learned that the cause of yesterday's panic was the arrival of an additional brigade of Johnston's command late in the afternoon, our men not knowing that they had been fighting Johnston's main force during the whole day. For reasons that we can not now determine Patterson did nothing to prevent Johnson's army from re-enforcing Beauregard, so that McDowell had a much larger force opposed to him than either he or General Scott contemplated. Such seem to be the fatalities of war.

CHAPTER XVI.

McClellan Called East—Fremont Ordered West.

Washington, July 24, 1861.—Telegrams and letters received from all parts of the country show that great as was the shock of McDowell's defeat, the people have no idea of giving up the struggle, but declare as with one voice that the war must go on until the rebellion is suppressed.

That the battle has given great encouragement to the South is a fact that must be recognized, and there is great danger that it will have an unfavorable influence on European governments; but all this should only make us more diligent and earnest in our task of prosecuting the war.

For my own part instead of giving way to any feelings of disappointment or discouragement, I have prepared a memorandum of future operations, which I am hoping to see carried into effect: First, gather a force sufficient to move against Richmond and secure its capture; second, move on Cumberland Gap and East Tennessee from Cincinnati, Ohio; third, send an expedition down the Mississippi against Memphis.

My life has been fully consecrated to the task of preserving this American Union; and I am resolved that no reverse or disaster shall dishearten me or cause me to doubt our final success.

Gen. McDowell can not be justly censured for the defeat of his army at Bull Run; nevertheless it has been deemed best to appoint another commander for the army in front of Washington; and all eyes have been turned to Gen. Geo. B. McClellan on account of his recent signal victories in Western Virginia. Gen. McClellan has accordingly been commissioned a Major General in the regular army and has been ordered to report in Washington without delay. Gen. Scott has a very high opinion of McClellan's ability and predicts a brilliant success for our army under his command in our next campaign.

Washington, July 25, 1861.—Gen. McClellan arrived in Washington to-day, and at once proceeded to his task of reorganizing the troops in and about Washington and preparing them for the campaign that is before them. General John C. Fremont (also commissioned as a Major General)

who was appointed commander of the western department a few weeks since, arrived at his post of duty, St. Louis, Mo., to-day, and entered on the duties pertaining to his department. The country is much pleased with these two appointments and naturally expects great results at the hands of these commanders, in which expectation I trust we will not be disappointed.

WASHINGTON, August 7, 1861.—Congress adjourned yesterday after a session of one month and two days. During this period a bill was passed increasing the pay of private soldiers in the army from eleven to thirteen dollars per month; also a bill authorizing the enlistment of 500,000 soldiers and appropriating $500,000,000 for the prosecution of the war; also a bill authorizing a national loan of $250,000,000 in 6 per cent bonds running twenty years, but redeemable at the pleasure of the government at the expiration of five years; also a bill confiscating the property of persons actively engaged in aiding the rebellion and setting free the slaves of such persons; also a bill legalizing and declaring valid all the acts of the Executive having reference to the suppression of the rebellion since the 4th of March. These various acts and the spirit showed by Congress throughout this session, I am persuaded, will be satisfactory to all friends of the Union, and will go far toward convincing foreign governments that we intend to preserve our Union at any and every cost.

WASHINGTON, August 25.—Secretary Chase arranged with the bankers of New York, Boston and Philadelphia for a loan of $50,000,000 a few days since; and in the course of his negotiations with them, he informed them that if enough gold could not be secured to tide the government over, the war must go on, if paper money has to be issued in such quantities that it will take a thousand dollars to buy a breakfast.

WASHINGTON, September 1, 1861. — Fremont's proclamation of August 30, freeing the slaves of all rebels in his department and confiscating their property has given me no small degree of concern, and I have accordingly directed him to modify it so as to conform to the act of Congress, approved August 6th.

For this action I have encountered some very severe

criticisms from people I hold in the highest esteem, to all of whom I have replied by reminding them that sustaining this proclamation would endanger our hold on Kentucky and other border states. And I have also reminded them that to permit so great a stretch of power on the part of an army officer would tend to overthrow our free government rather than to preserve it.

WASHINGTON, September 7, 1861.—ULYSSES S. GRANT, of Illinois, who was recently commissioned Brigadier General and placed in command at Cairo, the mouth of the Ohio river, by Gen. Fremont, having learned the occupancy of Columbus, Ky., by Gen. Polk, of the Confederate army on the 5th inst., hastily organized an expedition of two gunboats and some 1,800 troops on transports, with which he moved up the Ohio river by night, and early the next morning took possession of Paducah, Ky., having reached the place only a few hours in advance of a rebel force which Gen. Polk had sent to take possession of it. This movement of Gen. Grant not only reveals great energy and enterprise, but indicates that he is the possessor of military capacity that is likely to prove of service to the country. MAY HIS TRIBE INCREASE.

WASHINGTON, November 2, 1861.—The complaints against Gen. Fremont for inefficiency have become so loud and persistent and so clearly sustained, that I have been very reluctantly compelled to relieve him and direct him to turn over his command to Gen. Hunter. I have struggled long and hard against the necessity of this action, but I must do what the interest of the country demands, even at the risk of misconstruction and misrepresentation and the most bitter censure.

On account of his age and physical infirmities, Gen. Scott has asked to be relieved from his duties as General-in-Chief of our armies and Gen. McClellan has been appointed in his place. The appointment of McClellan seems to be entirely acceptable to the country, as the greatest confidence is felt in his fitness for this responsible position.

WASHINGTON, November 12, 1861.—Public attention has been diverted from the action—rather the non-action—of our armies by the seizure of James M. Mason and John Slidell, while en route to Europe as Confederate envoys in the British steamer Trent. This seizure was made by Capt.

Wilkes of the war steamer San Jacinto near the northern coast of Cuba, the prisoners being now confined in Fort Warren, Boston. Our people are loud and emphatic in their approval of Capt. Wilkes' act, and I myself greatly admire his loyalty and courage; but the seizure conflicts with the doctrine we have always contended for as to the rights of neutral vessels, and besides I fear our prisoners will be "white elephants" on our hands, as I do not see what disposition we can make of them.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Sleeping Sentinel.

Washington, September 15, 1861.—To-day I was waited on while busy at work by L. E. Chittenden, Register of the Treasury, and a number of soldiers belonging to a certain Vermont Regiment with their Captain at their head, who begged me most earnestly to spare the life of William Scott, a member of their Regiment who was sentenced to be shot the next day for falling asleep while on picket duty at the Chain Bridge over the Potomac near the city. They represented that Scott was a good soldier but that he was on picket guard the night before for a sick comrade, and was simply unable to keep awake two nights in succession. After hearing their story, I assured them that Scott should not be shot until I had time to look into his case more fully, and that I would visit the camp at the Chain Bridge some time during the day for that purpose. To Chittenden's remonstrance that this was putting too heavy a burden on me, I replied that Scott's life was as dear to him as mine was to me, quoting the remark of a certain Scotchman concerning a nobleman of his acquaintance who had been beheaded, "It was only the matter of a head, but it was very valuable to him, for it was the only one he had!"

Later in the day I went up to the camp and saw Scott himself, and, after talking to him a few minutes about his home and his neighbors and acquaintances, I asked him if he had a mother, when he proudly showed me her photograph. He said he had always done his duty as a soldier and was willing to die in battle for the country, but it hurt him dreadfully to be shot like a dog by his own comrades. He therefore begged me to fix it so that the firing

party should come from some other Regiment. Then I said to him, "My boy, you are not going to be shot. You are going back to your Regiment to serve your country. I believe you when you say you couldn't keep awake and you shan't die for going to sleep!" "How can I reward you Mr. President?" he asked most earnestly. "By doing your duty to your country and proving yourself a true soldier," I replied as I shook hands with him and bade him goodbye.

I returned to the city feeling greatly relieved from the cares and labors that press so heavily on me every day, believing that the pardon of this young soldier will be a better "example" to the army than his execution could possibly be. And what joy and pleasure I have given to his mother and to all his comrades and acquaintances!

WASHINGTON, March 30, 1862.—In an interview with L. E. Chittenden to-day, he gave me an account of the death of William Scott, the soldier whom I pardoned last September for sleeping on his post of guard duty. Scott was mortally wounded at the battle of Lee's Mills, Chittenden had been told by a member of the same Regiment, while carrying a wounded comrade from the field, "If any of you have a chance to see President Lincoln," said Scott as he was about ready to die, "tell him I have never forgotten the kind words he said to me, and I want to thank him with my last breath that he gave me a chance to die on the battlefield instead of being shot by my comrades!"

When Chittenden expressed his wish that my action in this case should be written into the history of the country I could only answer by quoting what Jeanie Deans in Sir Walter Scott's famous novel, "The Heart of Midlothian," said to Queen Caroline, when she was pleading for the life of her sister: "It is not when we sleep soft and make merry oursells that we think on ither people's sufferings. Our hearts are waxed light within us then, for we are righting our ain wrongs and fighting our ain battles. But when the hour of troubles comes to the mind or the body—and when the hour of death comes, that comes to high and low—oh, then, it is not what we have dune for oursells but what we have dune for ithers, that we think on maist pleasantly!"

CHAPTER XVIII.

"All Quiet on the Potomac!"

Washington, November 20, 1861.—At his own request Gen. William T. Sherman has been relieved of his command at Louisville, Ky., and Gen. Don Carlos Buell has been appointed in his place. Gen. Buell is said to be a thoroughly trained soldier, and it is believed he will place the affairs of that department in the shape that the needs of the service call for.

On the recommendation of Gen. Scott, Henry W. Halleck has been commissioned a Major General, and in accordance with orders has assumed command at St. Louis, Missouri. He has already revealed great energy and efficiency in the organization and discipline of the troops under his command.

Washington, December 1, 1861.—Troops have been forwarded to Washington in such numbers since McClellan has assumed command, and the expenses of the war have assumed such fearful proportions that the country very naturally wants to see a forward movement of McClellan's forces against the enemy. I have had several interviews with the General in which I have kindly urged this necessity upon him and kindly reminded that the cry of "All Quiet on the Potomac," is becoming very monotonous and unsatisfactory to the country. I have even gone so far after carefully studying maps of the country and more or less war history, as to urge upon him a movement against one or both of the enemy's flanks; but he has replied by positively assuring me that he is almost ready to strike the blow which will completely suppress the rebellion; and I can not assume the responsibility of ordering him to make a movement against his own judgment. I have heard a great many say that McClellan is giving too much attention to "politics;" but I am not concerned about his political views, if he will only give us the vigorous movement against the enemy that he has so long promised us and for which he has been furnished so large an army.

Washington, December 4, 1861.—In my message to Congress which reopened to-day, I was happy to recount

that all danger of secession in the states of Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri is past, and that these three states have an aggregate of some 40,000 men enlisted in the Union army. I was also happy to state that we had obtained a sure foothold on the seacoast of the seceded states at Hatteras, Port Royal and Tybee Island.

Secretary Chase estimates that the public debt, which was only $90,000,000 at the close of the fiscal year, June 30, will be over $500,000,000 on June 30, 1862. This is a truly appalling sum; but great is my faith in the patriotism of the people and the resources of the country—and in Secretary Chase.

That portion of Secretary Cameron's report in which he recommended the arming of slaves was not transmitted to Congress, as I could not give it my approval.

WASHINGTON, December 25, 1861.—Secretary Seward has addressed a note to Lord Lyons, the British Minister, surrendering Mason and Slidell to the demand of the British government on the ground that when Capt. Wilkes seized the envoys he should have taken them before a maritime prize court for a determination of the question whether they were contraband of war or not. That there is some national humiliation connected with this termination of the case can not be denied, but we can not afford a war with England at this time. Moreover I am satisfied that the Confederate government wanted us to refuse the British demand, hoping we would provoke the British government to recognize the independence of the Confederacy.

Gen. McClellan's illness at this time forbids any forward movement of his troops, and the preparations for an active campaign will continue under the direction of his subordinates. Meantime the rest of us will have to obey the Scriptural command, "Let patience have her perfect work!"

WASHINGTON, January 1, 1862.—Inasmuch as both the banks and the government have been compelled to begin the New Year with the suspension of specie payments, the question of issuing legal tender notes as a necessary war measure is beginning to press itself on my administration; and I fear we will have to meet it sooner or later—perhaps both sooner and later.

WASHINGTON, January 10, 1862.—On account of the

illness with which Gen. McClellan was attacked in December, I have given many days and nights to studying the military situation, and I am fully convinced that McClellan's army of 200,000 men should give some other report of itself than the stereotyped "All quiet on the Potomac," of which the country has become so weary. I accordingly sent for Gens. McDowell and Franklin and had a confidential interview with them in reference to the feasibility of an immediate advance upon the enemy, without telling them what I had proposed to McClellan a month since. Gen. McDowell at once suggested the same plan, and Gen. Franklin acquiesced in it, although he rather preferred a movement against Richmond by way of York river. I thereupon requested them to meet me again on the 13th inst. For several nights past, as I have lain on my bed, half awake and half asleep, I have fancied I could see those words, "All quiet on the Potomac!" on the walls of my bedchamber; and whenever I notice them in our daily newspapers, I can almost hear a murmur of weariness and impatience from all parts of the country.

WASHINGTON, January 13, 1862. — At the adjourned conference with Gens. McDowell and Franklin to-day, Gen. McClellan and Secretary Chase also being present, Gen. McDowell outlined his plan and advised an immediate forward movement, explaining to McClellan that he was acting under my orders, to which McClellan coolly answered, "Of course, you are entitled to any opinion you please to hold." He then without considering the merits of McDowell's plan, proceeded to urge the need of more reenforcements before he could make the decisive campaign which would end the war. Secretary Chase then asked him the point blank question WHAT HE INTENDED TO DO WITH HIS ARMY AND WHEN HE EXPECTED TO DO IT! This he refused to answer, unless required by me. Seeing how embarrassing the situation had become, I then asked McClellan if he had a definite time fixed in his mind for an advance movement, to which he promptly replied that he had. Without asking him to name that time I thereupon adjourned the meeting.

WASHINGTON, January 14, 1862.—Secretary Cameron having resigned his seat in the Cabinet, I have made him Minister to Russia, and have appointed Edwin M. Stanton

Secretary of War in his place. Some of Mr. Stanton's criticisms of my Administration and his unfavorable opinion of my fitness for the Presidency have come to my ears; but the signal services he rendered the country during the last few weeks of Buchanan's administration satisfy me that he will make a very capable and EFFICIENT Secretary of War, and for this reason I have asked him to become a member of my Cabinet.

WASHINGTON, January 16, 1862.—The report of the signal victory won by Colonel James A. Garfield, of Ohio, over the superior forces of Humphrey Marshall at Middle Creek, Ky., a few days since, reads more like a fairy tale than actual history; and he has been rewarded with a Brigadier General's commission. In view of what Garfield accomplished with a single brigade, what great results must we expect from the Potomac army when once it moves against the rebel forces now encamped so near to Washington!

WASHINGTON, January 22, 1862.—Colonel Garfield's victory at Middle Creek, Ky., has been followed by the defeat of the rebel generals, Crittenden and Zollicoffer, at Mill Springs, in which action Gen. Zollicoffer was killed, and the rebel forces were compelled to make a hasty retreat, barely escaping capture. GENERAL GEORGE H. THOMAS, who was in command of the Union forces in this battle, showed a degree of energy and determination which entitle him to the lasting gratitude of the country.

WASHINGTON, January 27, 1862.—Believing that I have even more than fulfilled the scriptural command to let patience have her perfect work, in waiting for a combined movement of our forces under Gens. McClellan, Buell and Halleck, I have issued an Executive order for a general forward movement of all the land and naval forces of the government on or before the coming 22d of February. I have done this because I am convinced that further delay would be ruinous to our cause, and because I can not longer endure the strain to which I have been subject by day and night for so many weeks. I can not endure the cry of "All Quiet on the Potomac" any longer.

WASHINGTON, January 31, 1862.—In addition to the general order for a forward movement of all our armies issued on the 27th inst., I have sent a special order to Gen.

McClellan that after leaving a sufficient force to protect Washington, he shall move with the rest of the Potomac army, aiming to strike the railroad at some point southwest of Manassas Junction.

WASHINGTON, February 2, 1862.—McClellan's objections to my special order and his arguments in favor of the Chesapeake route are so persistent and urgent, that I have refrained from making the order peremptory; but at the same time I am not ready to accept his plan. If I only possessed the military genius of a Caesar or a Napoleon, the question would soon be decided. Gen. McClellan persists in his claim that the rebel forces in his front are very much larger than his, which seems to me utterly incredible.

WASHINGTON, February 6, 1862.—After earnestly asking and at length obtaining permission from Gen Halleck to conduct an expedition up the Cumberland river for an attack on Fort Henry, General Grant started the next day with some ten thousand men on transports and seven gunboats under Commodore Andrew H. Foote; and to-day he sent a dispatch saying, "Fort Henry is ours; I shall take and destroy Fort Donelson without delay!"

WASHINGTON, February 12, 1862.—Feeling very reluctant either to require McClellan to adopt my plan of campaign or to accept his, I called a council of twelve generals to pass on the question, and to my surprise, found eight of them on his side, which caused me to yield to him, on condition that he first proceed to open the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and clear the Potomac river of the rebel batteries which have so long obstructed navigation below the city, and that a sufficient number of troops should be left at Washington to secure its safety from attack. My acceptance of McClellan's plan is contrary to the judgment of Secretary Stanton, but he is giving his utmost energies to the necessary preparations.

WASHINGTON, February 15, 1862.—My anxiety concerning the forward movement of the Potomac army has been considerably relieved — rather diverted — by Gen. Grant's capture of Fort Henry and his movement against Fort Donelson. For some reason Gen. Buell has failed to give him any assistance; but we are hopeful that the new regiments sent to him from Ohio and other northern states will give him a force sufficient for his purpose. Last night

I dreamed I saw him riding at the head of his army and receiving the surender of the rebel troops within the fort, while the cheers of his soldiers could be heard for miles in all directions.

WASHINGTON, February 17, 1862.—The glorious news has just reached us that Gen. Grant captured Fort Donelson on the Tennessee river with ten or twelve thousand prisoners yesterday, after informing Gen. Buckner, the officer in command, that no terms but immediate and unconditional surrender would be accepted. This victory of Gen. Grant's will, I feel certain, compel the evacuation of Nashville, Tenn., and Columbus, Ky., and prepare the way for the opening of the Mississippi river. It pains me not a little that our soldiers had to suffer as they did from cold weather, and that our victory had to be purchased with the loss of so many lives; but such is the price we have to pay for the preservation of our government.

WASHINGTON, February 21, 1862.—In addition to my anxiety about the advance of the Potomac army, I am called to endure the loss of a beloved child, not yet in his teens, who was the light of my life and the joy of my life. How dark and mysterious and past finding out are the ways of Divine Providence. But while I can not understand the reason of this affliction, it will cause me to sympathize more deeply with the fathers and mothers who are giving their young sons to the service of the country. And I verily feel that the Almighty is laying his chastening hand upon me and promising me, that if I prove faithful to my task and put my trust in Him, He will direct all my steps!

WASHINGTON, February 25, 1862.—Not without misgivings and after the most serious consideration I have signed the bill for the issuing of $150,000,000 in government notes which are to be a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except custom duties and interest on the public debt. I know no express warrant in the Constitution for this enactment; but it is a necessary war measure, and I believe the people will sustain it and eventually make these paper dollars as good as gold and silver dollars.

The complaints against Gen. McClellan's slowness still continue, but he has such a hold on his army and is so emphatic in his assurances that he will push the enemy to the wall and capture Richmond, that I can not withdraw my

confidence from him. Besides, if I should remove him, I know no General whom I would feel safe in putting in command of his army.

WASHINGTON, March 9, 1862.—This has been a day full of news at Washington. Early in the morning we had the story of the destruction of our war vessels in Hampton Roads by the rebel ship MERRIMAC, and later in the day came the information that the little MONITOR had arrived there and won a signal victory over the Merrimac, although not destroying her. Also during the day we learned that the batteries on the banks of the Potomac river were abandoned, and following this was the astounding information that Gen. Jos. E. Johnston had abandoned his position at Manassas Junction and was retreating southward. Gen. McClellan immediately moved his whole army in that direction—what for I know not; but unless his proposed movement by the peninsular route proves successful, I shall regret to my dying day that he did not make the flank attack on Johnston's forces that I urged upon him.

CHAPTER XIX.

McCLELLAN'S PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.

WASHINGTON, March 11, 1862.—Feeling satisfied that Gen. McClellan will have enough work to do as commander of the Potomac army and realizing that on account of the differences of opinion and lack of cooperation between Gens. Halleck and Buell, their forces should be put under the command of a single general, I have issued an order limiting McClellan's command to the department of the Potomac and placing Gen. Halleck in command of the western or Mississippi department, Gen. Fremont to command the Mountain or Middle department.

In all the history of the world I don't suppose that any other army commander ever established such a reputation as McClellan has on the victories he is going to win!

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1862.—Gen. Burnside has added to his previous successes on the North Carolina coast, the capture of Newbern, the principal seaport of that state.

I have just signed the act of congress providing a new article of war, which forbids army officers to employ any

of the forces under their command for the return of fugitive slaves to their masters.

WASHINGTON, April 1, 1862.—Gen. McClellan having changed his plan from the Urbana route to a movement against Richmond by way of Fortress Monroe, has at last set his army in motion to my almost infinite relief. If he will put the same energy and efficiency into his campaign that he has shown in the organization and discipline of his forces, he can not fail to give us the victory he has so long promised.

WASHINGTON, April 8, 1862.—Gen. Grant's army at Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee river was surprised and attacked very early in the morning of Sunday the 6th inst., by the Confederate forces under Gen. A. S. Johnson, who was killed in the action. During the day one of Grant's divisions was captured, and others suffered serious losses in both killed and wounded. Fortunately, however, Gen. Wallace's division and Gen. Buell's forces arrived in time to take part in the next day's fight, when the rebel forces under Gen. Beauregard were compelled to make a hasty retreat to Corinth, Miss., the position they were occupying before the battle.

WASHINGTON, April 16, 1862.—I have this day signed the bill passed by both houses of Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, which is very similar to the one I introduced in the house of representatives during my congressional term in 1847! This bill sets free all persons now held as slaves in the District with their descendants, and appropriates $1,000,000 for the compensation of loyal owners at an average rate of $300 for each slave so freed. So the FLAG OF FREEDOM will henceforth float over our National Capital!

WASHINGTON, May 5, 1862.—After reducing and capturing Forts Jackson and St. Philip, below New Orleans, Commodore Farragut moved his gunboats up the river to that city, and on the 1st inst. took possession of the same with his troops. The value of this victory can hardly be overestimated; for when Gen. Halleck moves his forces down to Memphis we can look for a speedy opening of the Mississippi river, which will cut the Confederacy in twain and insure its overthrow.

WASHINGTON, May 8, 1862.—After prosecuting a siege

of a full month—a SIESTA some military critics pronounce it—against the rebel forces and works at Yorktown, his troops suffering greatly from disease, McClellan found just as he was ready to open on them with the siege guns he had waited for so many precious days, that the position was abandoned, and that the rebel forces were in retreat toward Richmond. A pursuit was immediately ordered, and the enemy was overtaken at Williamsburg where a severe engagement occurred with considerable loss on both sides, the rebels evacuating that place after the battle. Gen. McClellan did not appear on the field until the battle was nearly over, and failed to pursue the Confederate forces on their retreat, which many critics believe might have been made a complete rout.

WASHINGTON, May 9, 1862.—I have written a letter to McClellan, kindly reminding him that in view of the large force under his command, it is high time for him to strike a blow; for the country is taking note that his failure to move against an intrenched enemy is but the story of Manassas repeated. Why must I have to endure this fearful strain? Why must I wait so long for the victory he has promised? Stanton claims that if McClellan had a million men in his army, he could do nothing till he got two million, and when he got the second million he would yell for still another million!

WASHINGTON, May 12, 1862.—Gen. Hunter, in command of the department composed of Georgia, Florida and South Carolina, has issued a proclamation declaring that as slavery and martial law are incompatible in a free country, all slaves in his department are declared free. This proclamation I have set aside on the ground that in view of my great responsibility I must reserve to myself to decide the question whether such an exercise of power is essential to the preservation of the government. But this slavery question————————

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1862.—News has reached us that Beauregard's army has evacuated Corinth, Miss., and that Gen. Halleck, who took the field in person immediately after the battle of Shiloh (or Pittsburg Landing), had occupied the place. As Corinth is the junction point of the Central Mississippi and the Memphis and Charleston railroads, the possession of it will be very valuable to us in our

future operations in Mississippi. Not being a military man I do not feel qualified to criticise Gen. Halleck's "Siege of Corinth"; but it is hard for me to see why with his largely superior force, he allowed Beauregard to evacuate the place with little or no loss of either men or war material.

WASHINGTON, June 2, 1862.—While he was waiting for good roads and good weather and all other favorable conditions before making his attack on the rebel forces near Richmond, McClellan's left wing—his two wings being separated by the Chickahominy river — was vigorously attacked by Gen. Johnston at Fair Oaks (or Seven Pines) day before yesterday. Our forces would doubtless have been badly beaten had not Gen. Sumner obtained permission for his corps to cross the rapidly rising river on two hastily constructed bridges, by which means the day was saved and a substantial victory won by our forces. McClellan arrived on the field at night but brought no reenforcements, so that the rebel retreat which took place after some desultory fighting the next day, was not followed up. Gen. Johnston was severely wounded in this battle, whereupon, by appointment of Jefferson Davis, who personally participated in the engagement, Gen. Robert E. Lee assumed command of the rebel forces.

WASHINGTON, June 6, 1862.—News of the capture of Memphis, Tenn., follows close on the news of the evacuation of Corinth, which gives me great hope that our land and naval forces acting from both above and below will soon open the Mississippi river and determine the fate of the Confederacy.

WASHINGTON, June 18, 1862.—After a very energetic and I must confess, brilliant campaign in the Shenandoah Valley, during which he eluded all our plans to surround and capture him and defeated in detail the forces of Banks, Shields and Fremont, that were operating against him, "Stonewall" Jackson moved the greater part of his command in the direction of Richmond, doubtless for the purpose of re-enforcing Lee. If a portion of Jackson's spirit could be communicated to all the officers of the Potomac army, Richmond would soon be ours.

WASHINGTON, June 19, 1862.—I have just signed the bill passed by Congress for the prohibition of slavery in all the territories of the United States. As the principle of this

bill has always been the corner stone of the Republican party, and as the bill itself is a return to the policy of our revolutionary fathers, I have given my signature to it most gladly and most gratefully, and I am certain it will nevermore be repealed.

WASHINGTON, June 20, 1862.—In response to a request of northern governors, I have just issued a call for 300,000 more volunteers. I have also signed the taxation bill, which in addition to numerous other provisions, places a tax of three per cent. per annum, on personal incomes of less than $10,000 and of five per cent on all over that amount.

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1862.—The "seven days battles" in front of Richmond, which began with the rebel repulse at Mechanicsville and Porter's defeat at Gaines Mill the next day for lack of reenforcements, ended with the repulse of the rebel forces at Malvern Hill on the 1st inst. It is thought by many that if this repulse of the enemy had been followed up, Richmond might have been taken, but Gen. McClellan had made all his arrangements for a retreat to Harrison's Landing on the James river, and to that point his victorious army moved the next day, where it is now encamped. What next?

Gen. McClellan estimates his loss at about 15,000 men which is certainly an appalling sacrifice. No one has ever accused McClellan of physical cowardice, but it seems strange to me that he has never yet commanded his troops in person on the day of battle. I have heard of many cases where generals have turned defeat into substantial victory; but this is the first time I have ever known a substantial victory to be turned into inglorious retreat and such fearful disaster.

Last night, however, I again dreamed that I was caught in a fearful storm while traveling on a rough and very difficult highway, when I again saw it written in letters of fire on the dark sky above me, that the armies of the Union would triumph—at last!

HARRISON'S LANDING, VA., July 7, 1862.—In order to get some clear notion of the situation at this place I have come here for a personal examination and a conference with Gen. McClellan. He is very anxious to conduct another campaign against the enemy, making the James river his base; but, as usual, he wants larger reenforcements (100,-

000 men) than we can possibly furnish. His subordinate officers are divided in their opinions on the question whether a campaign should be attempted from this point or the army should be returned to Washington; so I can not take the responsibility of deciding what to do without further consideration.

WASHINGTON, July 12, 1862. — Congress being about ready to adjourn, I have held a second conference with the border state senators and representatives and urged them to favor my proposals for gradual emancipation, but got no other response from them, than that they would give it respectful consideration.

WASHINGTON, July 17, 1862.—I have signed the bill which provides that all slaves of rebels coming into the possession or under the protection of the government shall be deemed captives of war and be set free, that no person engaged in the service of the government shall surrender fugitives, and that the President may employ persons of the African race for the suppression of the rebellion in any manner that he deems best. This gives my administration discretion and authority to enlist negro soldiers, which from present appearances, is very likely to become necessary before the contest is concluded.

The responses to my call for 300,000 more volunteers are not all I could wish, but the governors are urging the work forward, and throughout all the northern states the volunteers are singing and shouting:

"We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more;
We are coming, Father Abraham, the Union to restore!"

WASHINGTON, July 20, 1862. — In reply to a letter from Mr. Cuthbert Bullitt complaining of certain military operations at New Orleans, I have asked him whether, if he were in my place, he would prosecute the war with elder stalk squirts charged with rose-water. I have also reminded him that I am doing all I can to save the Union, but am doing nothing in malice, as the issues I am dealing with are too vast for any action that even savors of malice!

I have signed the Morrill tariff bill which largely increases the duties on imports, and will no doubt, give needed protection to many of our home industries.

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1862.—For some time past I

have been considering the question of issuing a proclamation of emancipation; and I have wrestled with the arguments pro and con until my very thigh bones, like Jacob's of old, are shrunken or feel very weary, if they are not shrunken. On the one hand is my reluctance to exercise any unnecessary power and authority, together with the recollection of my oft-repeated declaration that my administration would not interfere with the institution of slavery where it already exists; and on the other hand, is the clear sense of my obligation to maintain the government over which the people have called me to preside. At length, however, I have determined that emancipation must be proclaimed, if this government is to be saved from destruction. Accordingly at the Cabinet meeting to-day, I made known my decision, but asked them all to give me any points or suggestions that might be in their minds. There was a general acquiescence in the justice and necessity of such action; but Seward advised that the proclamation be withheld until there was some improvement in the military situation, as he thought that coming immediately after our recent reverses, "it would sound like the last shriek on a retreat." I have acceded to this view, but I have promised my Maker that I will issue such a proclamation as soon as He gives us the military success that will justify it.

WASHINGTON, July 26, 1862.—In accordance with my orders Gen. H. W. Halleck has assumed command as General-in-chief of our armies, and Gen. John Pope, in view of the great energy and efficiency he manifested in the capture of New Madrid, Mo., and of Island No. 10, on the Mississippi river, has been appointed to the command of the "Army of Virginia," with a view to uniting McClellan's forces with his in a movement against Richmond from the Rappahannock river in due season.

WASHINGTON, August 22, 1862. — Horace Greeley's New York Tribune of the 20th inst., contained an editorial signed by him complaining that I am not faithfully enforcing the confiscation act which frees the slaves of all rebels whenever they come within our lines and authorizes me to employ all such in the service of the government—and more to the same effect.

To this letter I have publicly replied by declaring that my supreme purpose is to SAVE THE UNION, that if I could save it without freeing any slaves, I would do it, that if I could save it by freeing either some slaves or all of them, I would do it, that whatever I do or forbear about slavery is for the purpose of saving the Union, that I will do more whenever I believe that doing more will help our cause, and will do less whenever I believe doing less will help it. And, finally, I state that while these are my views of OFFICIAL DUTY, I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere might be free!

WASHINGTON, August 26, 1862.—Although Gen. McClellan was peremptorily ordered by Gen. Halleck on the 6th inst. to remove his army by water to Aquia Creek, his forces did not all arrive there until yesterday, when he reported to Gen. Halleck from Alexandria, being thus virtually, but not formally, relieved of his position as commander of the Potomac army.

In view of the enormous expenses of the war, amounting to about $2,000,000 a day, it is some satisfaction to know that business is becoming quite active throughout the northern states, so that the people may not find their war taxes so oppressive after all.

CHAPTER XX.

ANTIETAM AND EMANCIPATION—AND THE LAST OF McCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, September 2, 1862.—As soon as Gen. Pope took the field and before he had received any reenforcements from McClellan, he found himself threatened by Stonewall Jackson, and after a disastrous campaign of almost a month his forces have retreated upon Washington greatly discouraged and demoralized. To what extent Pope's misfortunes were due to McClellan's failure to support him, I am not now able to determine, but McClellan's conduct was very far from being that of a true soldier, and his various dispatches indicated but too clearly that he wanted to see Pope fail and to see himself restored to his former command. Nevertheless it is impossible to continue Pope in command; and in view of the confidence

which McClellan's officers and men have in him, I have been constrained against the protests of both Chase and Stanton, who claim he should rather be summarily dismissed from the service—to place him in command of all the troops enployed for the defense of the capital. And he has entered on the work of reorganizing these forces with great energy and efficiency and amid the enthusiasm of his soldiers; for they all have unbounded confidence in "Little Mac" in spite of all his failures. I feel very sorry for Pope; his zeal and energy and desire to serve his country entitle him to a better fate than that which has overtaken him. And McDowell—brave, loyal, faithful, capable General—what an unlucky star seems to be placed over his head. But such are the fortunes (and misfortunes) of war. Some Generals win glory and honor above measure, while others must lose their lives, and some others their reputations.

WASHINGTON, September 7, 1862.—We have information that Gen. Lee has crossed the Potomac near Leesburg preparatory to an invasion of Maryland. Gen. McClellan has therefore left Washington and taken the field with positive orders to follow Lee and not allow his army to return to Virginia without getting hurt. McClellan has promised faithful obedience to this order, although as usual, he complains that his force is insufficient and that the rebel army outnumbers his.

WASHINGTON, September 13, 1862.—I was visited today by a deputation of clergymen and churchmen from Chicago, who earnestly urged me to carry out what they considered the divine will by issuing an immediate proclamation of emancipation. I answered them by declaring that if the Almighty had communicated this as his will to them, he would surely have made the same communication to me, as it related particularly to my duty. I also asked them what good such a proclamation would do in our present situation, and whether it would not be as futile as the Pope's bull against the comet. However, I begged them not to misunderstand me, as I had not decided against the issuing of such a proclamation, assuring them that the subject was on my mind by both day and night, and that whatever seemed to be the will of God, I would surely do. I did not deem it wise to inform them that I was only waiting for

an improvement in our military situation to take the action which they urged—and don't know whether they so read my mind or not.

WASHINGTON, September 14, 1862.—An order of Gen-Lee dividing his army and sending one portion of it to make an attack on Harper's Ferry fell into McClellan's hands yesterday, giving him a rare opportunity to fight the two wings of the rebel army separately and compel them both to choose between surrender and destruction. In view of the positive orders McClellan has received and the confidence I have placed in him, he surely will not disappoint me.

WASHINGTON, September 19, 1862.—After failing to improve the almost miraculous opportunity for winning a great victory which was furnished him by the discovery of Lee's order, and even failing to prevent the surrender of Harper's Ferry, McClellan posted his army at Antietam Creek on the 15th inst.; but instead of attacking Lee's forces in front of him on that day or the day following, he waited until the morning of the 17th, which gave time for Lee's troops that he had sent to Harper's Ferry to rejoin him, and for this reason McClellan had to fight the whole of Lee's army. The engagement which lasted all day was an exceedingly bloody one, more than 10,000 men being lost on each side. Lee was badly whipped; but although Porter's corps was not brought into action during the day, and McClellan was advised to renew the attack on the 18th, he postponed his decision until to-day, and this afternoon he telegraphed that the enemy had crossed the Potomac river and retreated into Virginia. This is the only engagement of McClellan's army which he has ever directed in person, and in view of what might have been done, I hardly know whether to feel satisfaction or disappointment over the result.

The Confederate Congress has recently passed a rigid conscription act, calling into military service in the discretion of Pres. Davis all white men between the ages of 18 and 45. This is what secession means to the southern people.

WASHINGTON, September 22, 1862.—It took me a few days to determine whether the battle of Antietam was a victory or a defeat; but since Lee was compelled to re-

treat across the Potomac, I have concluded that notwithstanding the faulty tactics of the battle and the failure to pursue the beaten enemy, by a preponderance of evidence, if not beyond a reasonable doubt, it should be considered a victory. It is not such a victory as I had hoped for or such a one as the country had a right to expect, but it is a sufficient victory to justify the proclamation of emancipation which I have so long contemplated. After two or three hours' discussion concerning the form and wording most appropriate, I have issued my proclamation declaring my purpose at the next meeting of Congress to recommend the adoption of a measure of compensation to the people of any states who will adopt a plan for the abolition of slavery within their limits. And I have further declared that on the coming first day of January—which is just one hundred days from this date—all persons held as slaves in any state or any part of a state which may then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free, and that the executive government of the United States will recognize and MAINTAIN the freedom of all such persons.

WASHINGTON, September 26, 1862.—Was much gratified to receive a call from the northern governors who held a recent conference in Altoona, Pa., and to hear their hearty endorsement of the emancipation proclamation and their promise to sustain it.

WASHINGTON, October 16, 1862.—I have read with great concern the report of a recent speech at Newcastle, England, by William E. Gladstone, the English Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which he declared that "Jefferson Davis and the southern leaders have already made an army and a navy and what is more than either—they have made a nation!" If this be only the personal opinion of Mr. Gladstone there is no need of any concern over it; but if it is not an expression of the views entertained by the English Cabinet, I fear it will be so construed by the English people, and that the tide of English sentiment will be turned against us.

WASHINGTON, November 2, 1862.—After receiving repeated orders and letters from Gen Halleck and myself ever since the battle of Antietam, Gen. McClellan finally commenced to move his army—which should rather be

called his body guard!—across the Potomac river, and it is now encamped on the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge, and I have finally made up my mind to relieve him from his command, if he permits Lee to cross the Blue Ridge, without a fight.

WASHINGTON, November 5, 1862.—On receipt of the news that Gen. Lee's army had reached Culpeper Court House, I have issued an order relieving Gen McClellan and directing him to turn over his command to Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside and report at Trenton, New Jersey, for further orders. He will not be restored again. "Little Mac" has had his day—rather his year and a half—in court, and has lost his case.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE TRAGEDY OF FREDERICKSBURG.

WASHINGTON, November 12, 1862.—In the congressional election of this fall, the opposition on their platform, "The Union as it was and the Constitution as it is," and by representing the war as "an abolition crusade" have gained so many representatives in the states of Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois and Indiana, that although we have held our own in Maine, Vermont, Iowa and Michigan, we will have a majority against us in the next Congress, unless the remaining New England states and the border slave states turn the scale in the elections they will hold next year. But desirable as it is to have an administration majority in both houses of Congress, the northern people are so thoroughly committed to the prosecution of the war that the men in power will be forced to carry their will into effect.

WASHINGTON, December 6, 1862.—In my message to Congress which assembled today, I recommended and most earnestly urged the adoption of a plan for compensated emancipation; but from the response given to my message of last March, I can not feel confident of a favorable response. In reference to our finances I recommended the organization of an association of banks, whose issues of currency should be based on government bonds.

General Rosecrans, who was appointed to succeed Gen. Buell in the department of the Cumberland, has disap-

pointed me in not moving into East Tennessee, but has made Nashville his headquarters instead. From this point we expect him to move against Gen Bragg at an early date and afterwards to make a campaign against Chattanooga.

WASHINGTON, December 16, 1862.—Gen. Burnside accepted the command of the Potomac army with great reluctance, frankly expressing the opinion that he was not equal to the task it involved; but he at once began preparations for a forward movement for Richmond, by way of Fredericksburg. This plan was contrary to the movement on the shorter line which I had urged McClellan to adopt, and I gave my consent to the change very reluctantly, in the hope that he might gain the heights south of Fredericksburg before Lee could make his preparations to resist him. For various reasons he did not reach the north bank of the Rappahannock until the last days of November, and then had to wait several days for the pontoon bridges which he hoped to find all ready for him on his arrival. On the 12th inst. the greater part of his army crossed the river, and on the 13th an attack was made on the enemy's works which resulted in a repulse along the whole line and the loss of some 12,000 men, the Confederate loss being less than half that number. Fortunately the enemy did not know how great victory he had won, and on the night of the 15th Burnside withdrew his army to the north side of the river with his officers and men greatly discouraged and demoralized and their confidence in their commanding general almost entirely gone. I dread the effects of this defeat both at home and abroad, but I must never permit myself to be downcast or discouraged even in my own mind. Burnside has relieved me of all responsibility by declaring that the plan of battle was all his own, and that he alone is to blame for the slaughter of so many men, but if I relieve him from his command, whom shall I appoint in his place?

CHAPTER XXII.

MUST THE CABINET BE RECONSTRUCTED?

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1862—Two or three days ago at a caucus of Republican senators, a resolution was adopted declaring it their sense that a reconstruction of my Cabinet was demanded in the interest of the public service.

As this action was especially directed against Seward, who, several senators persist in thinking, has an undue influence with me, as soon as he was informed of it he placed his resignation in my hands. To-day the committee appointed by the caucus to make known its action consisting of Senators Sumner, Trumbull, Harris, Grimes, Pomeroy, Fessenden, Howard and Collamer—distinguished Republican leaders all—waited on me and stated their case, expressing their minds very freely in reference to Seward and in milder terms concerning some other members of the Cabinet. Of course I gave them free vent for their opinions and feelings and then requested them to meet me in the evening for further consideration of the question. I then sent requests to members of the Cabinet to meet me at the same time. At the appointed hour the eight senators and all the Cabinet except Seward assembled, each party being surprised to meet the other. After some hours of free and all around discussion, I put the question to the senators whether they still thought Seward should be retired from the Cabinet in view of the great service he was rendering the country in the conduct of our foreign relations, to which Grimes, Trumbull and Sumner responded Yes, and Harris No, Howard, Fessenden and Collamer declining to vote. The meeting was then adjourned leaving the question with me whether I shall dispense with Seward's invaluable services as Secretary of State and appoint another Secretary — who else could fill his place?— or retain him against the protest of so many senators.

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1862.—At the meeting of Senators and Cabinet ministers two or three evenings since Secretary Chase was so much embarrassed that he called on me the next morning and presented his formal resignation, which to his manifest surprise I at once took from his hand without comment — and then I realized very clearly that I was master of the situation and of the Senatorial Caucus! For if the caucus could drive Seward out of the Cabinet, they would have to see Chase go also! Then I immediately addressed a joint note to Seward and Chase, informing them that the public service would not permit me to accept their resignation and earnestly requested them to resume the duties of their respective departments — which they have done to my great satisfaction.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Murfreesboro (or Stone River) and Chancellorsville.

Washington, December 30, 1862. — I have been greatly disappointed over the news that Gen. Grant in command of the Department of the Tennessee, has been compelled to abandon his campaign on the line of the Mississippi Central Railroad against Jackson and Vicksburg on account of Holly Springs, his depot of supplies being captured by Gen. Van Dorn. I have also been disappointed over Gen. Sherman's failure to gain a foothold at Haines Bluff on the Yazoo river, but I am very much relieved by the information that Gen. Grant has withdrawn his forces to Memphis, preparatory to a movement against Vicksburg with the river as his base of supplies. Many appeals have been made for me for the removal of Grant from his command ever since the battle of Shiloh; but I have replied to them all, that I can not spare him from the army, for he is determined, and he fights. I have sometimes wished he were in command of the Potomac army, so I would not be so concerned about its operations; but it would never do to call him from the west, until the Mississippi river is opened all the way down to the Gulf.

Washington, December 31, 1862.—I have signed the bill admitting the newly formed state of West Virginia, into the Union on condition of her adopting a scheme of gradual emancipation.

Washington, January 1, 1863.—The states in rebellion against the government having paid no attention to my proclamation of last September, I have today issued a final proclamation declaring the freedom of all slaves in the states of Arkanasas, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia and Louisiana, excepting 13 parishes and the city of New Orleans in Louisiana and seven counties in Virginia besides the forty-eight counties designated as Western Virginia.

By virtue of the power vested in me as Commander in Chief of the army and navy of the United States, I have declared that all slaves in these states and parts of states shall henceforward be free, and that the Executive government of the United States will recognize and maintain

their freedom, exhorting all such freed persons to abstain from all violence, except in self-defense, and advising them to work for reasonable wages, whenever they are allowed to do so. I have also declared that such persons as are physically qualified will be received into the armed service of the United States.

At the suggestion of Secretary Chase I adopted the following as the closing paragraph of my proclamation: "And upon this, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I INVOKE THE CONSIDERATE JUDGMENT OF MANKIND AND THE GRACIOUS FAVOR OF ALMIGHTY GOD!"

Whatever misgivings I may have had as to the people's willingness to sustain the policy of emancipation when I issued the preliminary proclamation, I have none at this time, and I am fully persuaded that I will be sustained by the voice of the civilized world and on the pages of history. Last night I once more dreamed that I saw Moses and Washington on the summit of a great mountain beckoning me to stand beside them. The ascent was still painful and difficult, but the sky over my head, was much clearer than in my previous dreams; and when I stood before them they said to me as with one voice, "Go not down from this mountain height; your place is with us on this rock of everlasting fame!" And there I stood beside them until I awoke.

WASHINGTON, January 4, 1863.—My feelings over Burnside's defeat at Fredericksburg have been in some measure relieved by the victory of Gen. Rosecrans' army at Stone river, near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, after two days of hard fighting, at the end of which the rebel forces under Gen. Bragg made a hasty retreat to Tullahoma, some twenty miles distant. The determined spirit and superior skill shown by Gen. Rosecrans in this battle give promise that he will soon proceed against Chattanooga and Knoxville and relieve the Union men of East Tennessee of the oppression they have endured so long. Gen. George H. Thomas who commanded the center of Rosecrans' army in this battle and Gen. Philip H. Sheridan who commanded a division of the right wing, both highly distinguished themselves in this engagement.

WASHINGTON, January 25, 1863.—Representative Val-

landigham's "great speech" in the lower house of Congress a few days since, in which he bitterly denounced all the war measures that have been employed for the suppression of the rebellion and declared in most emphatic terms that we could never conquer the South, reminds me of a certain western orator, of whom it was said, that whenever he had a speech to deliver "he just mounted the platform, rolled back his head, 'shined' his eyes, opened his mouth, and left the consequences with God!" Still I can not escape the reflection, that whatever influence Mr. Vallandigham and others of his class may have will only increase the cost of war in both money and blood!

WASHINGTON, January 28, 1863.—Gen. Burnside has been so affected by the adverse criticisms of some of his Generals that he prepared an order dismissing Gens. Hooker, Brooks and Newton from the service and relieving Gens. Franklin, Smith, Cochran and Ferrero from duty with the Potomac army. Before issuing this order, however, he submitted it to me, and insisted that I should either approve the order or relieve him from the command of the Potomac army. Whereupon I decided to relieve him and have appointed Gen. Hooker in his place. Hooker has won the sobriquet of "Fighting Joe Hooker," but his extravagant and rather reckless criticisms of both McClellan and Burnside, while they indicate his readiness to fight the enemy, do not fully prove his capacity to cope with Gen. Lee and the able officers who are serving under him. Neither do I know any other General whom I consider fully equal to this task — nor am I able to create one.

WASHINGTON, January 30, 1863.—I have sent my thanks to the workingmen of Manchester, England, who at a recent meeting adopted resolutions expressing their sympathy for the Union cause and their approval of my emancipation proclamation. Reports from other cities indicate that notwithstanding all that the English masses are suffering from deficiency of the cotton supply, their sympathies are on our side, inasmuch as they realize that the Union cause represents liberty and justice, while the Confederate cause represents only slavery and the oppression of mankind.

WASHINGTON, February 6, 1863 — Secretary Seward has addressed a letter to the French minister at Washington, in which by my directions he very courteously but very

emphatically declined the French Emperor's offer of mediation between the United States and the rebel government. There must be no interference of outsiders in this family quarrel!

WASHINGTON, February 25, 1863.—I have this day signed the bill authorizing the establishing of National banks throughout the country on the basis of national bonds, which has been so strongly urged upon Congress by Secretary Chase. This bill is not open to the objections that might be urged against a single national bank, and I believe it will provide a uniform, safe and reliable currency —as soon as it is supplemented by a law taxing the currency of state banks out of circulation.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1863.—In common with other supporters of the Union, I have hoped—yes, hoped against hope—that the war could be fought to a successful conclusion without resorting to conscription; but the recent reverses we have suffered have so discouraged enlistments, that Congress has passed a law, which I have approved to-day, providing that all male citizens between the ages of 20 and 45 shall be duly enrolled for military duty, and that the President may call into active service such numbers of them as he may deem necessary.

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1863.—When Gen. Hooker assumed command of the army of the Potomac he found its spirit and MORALE at a very low ebb, but as officers and men knew him as "Fighting Joe Hooker," he found very little difficulty in inspiring his troops nearly 100,000 strong with confidence and the willingness to proceed against the enemy. Warned by Burnside's experience not to attempt a front attack on Lee at Fredericksburg, he very wisely determined on a flank movement by crossing the Rappahannock river at Chancellorsville some miles above Fredericksburg. This maneuver was very skillfully executed; and yesterday he published the information to his army that "the enemy must either ingloriously fly or come out from behind his defenses and give us battle on our own ground where certain destruction awaits him." He has certainly gained an advantage over Lee which, if wisely improved, will result in a victory to our arms.

WASHINGTON, May 6, 1863.—Instead of the glorious victory which Hooker promised his army the story of

Fredericksburg must be told again. While Hooker lay in the position he had secured by crossing the river waiting for Lee to attack him or retreat, Lee and Jackson devised a flank movement against Hooker's right wing which was executed by Jackson with all the vigor and celerity for which he is noted. Hooker's right wing was taken by surprise and was soon thrown into confusion and disorder, the fight continuing for some time after nightfall. The result might have been much more disastrous, if Jackson had not been accidentally wounded by some of his own men, so that he had to be carried from the field. The fight was renewed the next day by Gen. Lee with such effect that Hooker recrossed the river, and is now safely encamped on its northern bank.

I am informed that Hooker's explanation of the surprise is that he thought the rebel forces were retreating—why then did he not pursue them? I am also informed that after he had made his crossing to the south side of the Rappahannock he advanced part of his army to an advantageous position some distance to the front, but withdrew from it against the urgent advice of his generals, for fear he couldn't hold it. "My God!" Gen. Meade is reported to have exclaimed, "if we can not hold the top of a hill how can we hope to hold the bottom of it?"

CHAPTER XXIV.

Vicksburg and Gettysburg.

Washington, May 7, 1863.—Gen. Grant has been very active since he assumed command of the forces on the Mississippi river operating against Vicksburg. His efforts to reach the river south of the city by way of Lake Providence and by digging a canal across the neck on the Louisiana side formed by a bend in the Mississippi and his efforts to reach the Yazoo river by way of the Yazoo pass having all proved failures, he decided with the co-operation of Admiral Porter to run the Vicksburg batteries with gunboats and transports and effect a landing on the east bank of the river near Grand Gulf some twenty-five miles below Vicksburg. This movement proved a complete success; but after the battle of Port Gibson and the evacuation

of Grand Gulf by the rebels, instead of proceeding farther south to cooperate with Gen. Banks in the reduction of Port Hudson as it was expected he would do, he marched his forces toward Jackson, the capital of the state, with the evident purpose of capturing that place and proceeding thence to an attack on Vicksburg. His troops have only five days' rations in their haversacks, but they are all in high spirits and full of confidence that their general will lead them to a complete victory.

WASHINGTON, May 20, 1863.—The very gratifying news has reached us that after capturing Jackson, Miss., and winning the battles of Raymond, Champion's Hill and Big Black river over Gen. Pemberton's forces, Gen. Grant reached Vicksburg with his three army corps on the 18th inst., his army having made a campaign of almost three weeks on five days' rations. His assault on the fortifications of the city on the 19th failed of success, but he has the place completely invested and can not fail to capture it, as he will be amply reenforced.

WASHINGTON, June 16, 1863.—The capture of Winchester by the rebel forces yesterday indicates very clearly that Gen. Lee is contemplating another invasion of the North; but Hooker is also moving northward on the east side of the Blue Ridge and will, I hope, be able to cope with him.

When Lee first commenced to cross to the north side of Rappahannock, Hooker asked permission to move his army southward and make an attack on Richmond, but I answered him that I would not run the risk of putting the army in the position of an ox jumped half way over a fence, liable to be torn by dogs without any chance to gore one way or kick the other!

WASHINGTON, June 18, 1863.—I am very much disappointed that Gen. Rosecrans after remaining in position at Murfreesboro for nearly six months is still, as he claims, unprepared for any forward movement. He also urges —very strangely it seems to me—that a forward movement on his part might cause Bragg to reenforce Pemberton at Vicksburg!

WASHINGTON, June 28, 1863.—Gen. Halleck never approved the appointment of Hooker to command the army of the Potomac, and since the Chancellorsville campaign

his confidence in that general has been much less than before; consequently their relations have been considerably strained, and the correspondence between them has been none too cordial. Yesterday Hooker telegraphed from Harpers' Ferry, requesting that the troops some 10,000 in number, that are occupying Maryland Heights be added to the army with which he is operating against Gen. Lee; and on Halleck's refusal to comply with his request, asked to be relieved from the command of the Potomac army. While I did not consider Hooker's request to have this force added to his command an unreasonable one, I deemed it for the good of the service to accept his resignation at once without waiting to find out whether he really wanted it accepted! Gen. George G. Meade, the corps commander whom I have appointed in his place, has never proved himself a Caesar or Napoleon, but he is brave, faithful, capable and RELIABLE, and therefore I expect him to give a good account of himself under all circumstances.

WASHINGTON, July 3, 1863.—After three days' hard fighting at Gettysburg, Gen. Meade's forces finally repulsed the attacks of the enemy and thus secured a great victory to our arms, although it was purchased with the loss of some 20,000 men in killed, wounded and missing, the rebel loss being probably about the same. By his conduct of this important battle Gen. Meade has greatly increased his military reputation; and I am earnestly hoping he will improve his victory by pursuing Lee without delay and not permitting him to recross the Potomac river.

WASHINGTON, July 5, 1863.—Right on the heels of our victory at Gettysburg comes the news that on yesterday, July 4, Gen. Grant received the surrender of Pemberton and his army of 30,000 men at Vicksburg, so that the capture of Port Hudson, which Gen. Banks is now beseiging, is all that is needed to open the Mississippi river from its source to its mouth and cut the Southern Confederacy in twain. All honor to Gen. Grant and his soldiers for this most decisive victory.

WASHINGTON, July 10, 1863.—The capture of Port Hudson by Gen. Banks on the 8th inst. with 6,000 prisoners completes the great task of opening the Mississippi river and dividing the Confederacy into two divisions, which result ought to convince the Confederates that their effort

to establish an independent government can never be successful.

I have written a letter to Gen. Grant in which I thank him most heartily for the work of his campaigns, and I also inform him that when he reached Grand Gulf in May last I thought he ought to move southward and cooperate with Gen. Banks, but I now wish to say to him, that he was right and I was wrong!

Our public debt at the close of the fiscal year June 30, had reached the enormous sum of $1,097,000,000 and gold at the same was at a premium of 45 per cent; but when the war is over the country's resources will be sufficient in a few years to wipe out the debt and make our currency as good as gold and silver.

WASHINGTON, July 14, 1863.—I was so disappointed over the news that Gen. Meade had permitted Lee to recross the Potomac and make his escape into Virginia without another battle, that I wrote him a letter complaining in pretty strong terms of his inaction, but after due reflection I concluded not to send it, as I did not want to wound his feelings to no purpose, and if he should resign his command, whom would I appoint in his place? Still I am both grieved and disappointed. A great many claim that Gettysburg will always be known as "the decisive battle of the war." I suppose it does decide that the Confederate army can never secure a foothold on northern soil, but it ought to have decided that that army can not secure a foothold on Virginia soil either! It would, indeed, have cost many lives to have whipped Lee north of the Potomac, but it will cost a great many more to destroy his army, now that he has returned to the hills and mountains of Virginia. Still as Gen. Meade has done so well, I must not withdraw my confidence from him, but rather give him my hearty encouragement and support in the campaigns that are still before him and his army. Until I find myself possessed of infallible judgment, I surely have no right to require it in the generals at the head of our armies.

CHAPTER XXV.

Chicamauga—Lookout Mountain—Missionary Ridge!

Washington, July 15, 1863.—After five full months of waiting at Murfreesboro, during which he was repeatedly and presistently urged to action by Gen. Halleck and myself, Gen. Rosecrans called a council of his generals the first week in June, at which he obtained the opinions of seventeen of them, against an immediate advance of his army. But wisely heeding the urgent advice of Gen. Garfield, his chief of staff, on the 24th of June he moved his three army corps against Bragg's position at Tullahoma and in a vigorous campaign of nine days compelled Bragg to abandon Middle Tennessee and retreat into Chattanooga. This success added to our victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg will, I hope, induce him to push on to Chattanooga and Knoxville and secure those positions before the enemy is reenforced from Lee's army.

Washington, September 6, 1863.—To my almost inexpressible satisfaction and the still greater satisfaction of the loyal East Tennesseans Gen. Burnside entered Knoxville yesterday. From the very beginning of the war I have desired to relieve these people from the hardships and persecutions they were suffering, but have never until now been able to accomplish that object.

Washington, September 8, 1863.—Almost every day I am besought by some father or mother or other relative to save the life of some soldier who has been sentenced to death for desertion or some other offense; and many of our generals complain that I impair discipline in the army by my frequent pardons and respites; but it makes me feel greatly rested after a hard day's work, if I can find some excuse for saving a poor fellow's life, and I go to bed rejoicing to think how happy the signing of my name has made him and his family. Besides I have a notion that severe punishment is not the only means of maintaining discipline in the army and securing peace and order in society.

Washington, September 10, 1863.—After a very successful and brilliant campaign of three weeks by Gen.

Rosecrans the left wing of his army entered Chattanooga yesterday, and the other two corps are in position a few miles in rear of the place. Gen. Rosecrans reports Bragg's forces in full retreat and is expecting to start in pursuit of him without delay. This occupation of Chattanooga, although it was accomplished without a battle, I consider one of the most important achievements of the war, and it reveals the most masterly strategy on the part of Gen. Rosecrans. Still for some reason I am very anxious about the outcome!

WASHINGTON, September 22, 1863.—Instead of Bragg's retreating southward after Rosecrans' occupation of Chattanooga, the two armies engaged in a fierce battle on Chickamauga creek on the 19th and 20th inst., Bragg having been reenforced by Longstreet's corps from Lee's army of Virginia. There was severe fighting during the first day without any decisive result, but on the second day, through an unfortunate order of Gen. Rosecrans to one of our divisions, a gap was made in our line, of which the enemy took such advantage that our center and right wing were completely routed, and Gen. Rosecrans left the field to make arrangements for the retreat of his troops to Chattanooga. Gen. Garfield, his chief of staff, obtained permission to ride to the left wing where Gen. Thomas heroically held his ground against repeated assaults of the enemy until nightfall, when, under orders from Rosecrans, he retreated to Rossville, a few miles to the rear. Fortunately for us—rather, it may be, fortunately for the Confederates—Bragg did not renew the attack the next day; so that we still hold Chattanooga, which was the "objective point" of the campaign. No estimate of the losses has been received, but they must have run far into the thousands on both sides.

WASHINGTON, October 3, 1863.—For many years past the Governors of our various states, or most of them, have designated a special day of thanksgiving near the close of the year; wherefore it has seemed to me that in view of the many blessings the Most High God has bestowed upon us as a nation, notwithstanding the ravages of civil war we should have a day of NATIONAL thanksgiving. I have accordingly designated the last Thursday of November next as such a day; and in my proclamation to that effect

I have exhorted the people, while rendering their thanks to the Almighty, to commend to his tender care all those who have been made widows or orphans or other sufferers by the conflict in which we are engaged.

WASHINGTON, October 15, 1863.—I am greatly pleased with the result of the elections in the northern states this fall, especially with the re-election of Gov. Curtin over Judge Woodward in Pennsylvania by 15,000 majority and the election of John Brough as Governor of Ohio over Vallandigham by a majority of some 60,000, which figures, it is thought, will be increased to 100,000 when the votes of the Ohio soldiers are returned. Throughout the campaign I felt confident that these states would prove true to themselves and to the men they had sent into the army, and that the voice of their ballot-box would accord with the tread of their battalions!

WASHINGTON, October 17, 1863.—Recruiting for the army has proceeded so slowly for some time past that I have found it necessary to issue a call for 300,000 more troops with notice that if they are not furnished by January 5, 1864, a draft will have to be made.

WASHINGTON, October 20, 1863.—Gen. Rosecrans' dispatches from Chattanooga have been of so discouraging a character since the battle of Chicamauga, and the situation of our forces has seemed so precarious that Gen. Grant has been appointed commander of the Military Division of the Mississippi, and the armies of the Cumberland and the Tennessee have both been placed under his authority. At his request Gen. Rosecrans has been relieved from the command of the army of the Cumberland and Gen. Thomas —the "Rock of Chicamauga" he has been called since the Chicamauga battle—has been assigned to his place, Gen. Sherman succeeding Grant as commander of the army of the Tennessee. The 11th and 12th army corps, under Gen. Hooker, have been sent to Chattanooga, and Sherman's 15th army corps is well on the road from Memphis, which will certainly enable Grant to raise the siege of the place, if nothing more.

GETTYSBURG, PENN., November 19, 1863.—I came here to-day by invitation to take part in the ceremony of dedicating a portion of the Gettysburg battlefield as a Soldiers' cemetery, the particular duty assigned me being "to set

apart these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks" after the distinguished Edward Everett, the orator of the day, had given his address. Mr. Everett's address, which was about two hours in length was very learned, very comprehensive and very eloquent, and was most heartily applauded by the great audience in attendance. Knowing that I was only expected to occupy a few minutes I gave the very short address, which I had previously prepared, in which I sought to express as clearly as possible and in as few words as possible my appreciation of the debt we owe to the living and dead soldiers who fought and won this great battle, and also to express my conception of Liberty and Equality as the principles on which our government is based and should ever be administered. [See page 2.]

WASHINGTON, November 20, 1863.—I received a very gracious note to-day from Mr. Everett, in which he said he would be glad if he could flatter himself that he came as near the central idea of the occasion at Gettysburg in two hours as I did in two minutes.

WASHINGTON, November 28, 1863.—After assuming command at Chattanooga, Gen. Grant, in the course of a few days by a series of very skillful movements, opened up his communications with Bridgeport, and as soon as Sherman's troops arrived, made ready for Hooker to move against the rebel forces on Lookout Mountain on his right and for Thomas and Sherman to assail Missionary Ridge on his left and center. Hooker's men performed their task with great gallantry, asecnding the slopes of the mountain on the 24th inst. under heavy fire and never stopping until they reached its summit, a part of the battle, it is said, being fought "above the clouds." The next day Thomas' men aided by Sherman, made an attack on Missionary Ridge and carried everything before them, causing Gen. Bragg's forces to retreat in confusion and disorder.

This victory of Gen. Grant was greatly facilitated—perhaps made possible—by Bragg's sending Longstreet with several thousand troops to attack Burnside at Knoxville. On account of this movement of Longstreet, Gen. Grant the day after the battle of Missionary Ridge sent Sherman with three divisions to Burnside's relief.

WASHINGTON, December 7, 1863.—Gen. Sherman arrived in Knoxville yesterday with a portion of his forces, having learned the day before that Longstreet had made an attack on the place November 29th, in which he was repulsed with heavy loss and compelled to retreat to the Holston river.

WASHINGTON, December 9, 1863.—The 38th Congres met on Monday the 7th inst. and the House was duly organized by the election of Schuyler Colfax as Speaker. In my message I was able to recount our victories at Vicksburg, Gettysburg and Chattanooga, and to inform Congress that fully 100,000 negroes who were formerly slaves are now enrolled in the service of the government, and that as far as they have been tested, it is hard to say they are not as good soldiers as any.

I have taken great pleasure in appending to my message a special proclamation, in accordance with the act of Congress, offering complete amnesty to all persons heretofore connected with the rebellion, on condition of their taking an oath of allegiance to the government and promising to abide by and sustain the emancipation proclamation. I have also declared in my message that I will never retreat or change the proclamation or return to slavery any person who has been freed by it!

CHAPTER XXVI.

WILDERNESS—SPOTTSYLVANIA—COLD HARBOR—ATLANTA—CEDAR CREEK!

WASHINGTON, March 1, 1864.—The Republican members of the Ohio Legislature having held a formal caucus and declared in favor of my re-election, Secretary Chase has written a letter to his supporters formally withdrawing from the canvass; but I have a notion that he still thinks he OUGHT to be the candidate. This will not bother me, however, as long as he continues his good work at the head of the Treasury.

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1864.—Since the war began I have longed for a general to place in command of our armies on whom I could rely so fully that I would not even want to know his plans except in the most general way.

And since Gen. Grant's victories at Vicksburg and Chattanooga, my mind has rested on him. Hence I have very readily approved the bill passed by Congress reviving the grade of Lieutenant General and have summoned Gen. Grant to Washington to receive his commission; and as soon as he arrives I intend to place him in command of our armies. Severe criticisms have been passed on some of Grant's operations; but my confidence in him has never wavered, and I am firm in the faith that he will never let go his hold until he either destroys Lee's army or compels its surrender—and then the war will close.

WASHINGTON, March 9, 1864—In response to orders, Gen. Grant arrived in Washington yesterday—it was the first time he and I had ever met each other, but neither of us needed a formal introduction;—and to-day in the presence of the Cabinet and Gen. Halleck I presented him with his commission as Lieutenant General, assuring him of my entire confidence, and that the country also trusts him and will sustain him as General-in-chief of our armies. His reply showed that he fully appreciated his responsibility, and that he would be equal to the trust reposed in him. At Gen. Grant's request Gen. Sherman was placed in command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, and Gen. James B. McPherson in command of the army of the Tennessee in Sherman's place.

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1864.—I have just written a letter to Michael Hahn, of New Orleans, congratulating him on his election as the first free-state Governor of Louisiana. In this letter I have suggested to him FOR HIS PRIVATE CONSIDERATION the question whether it would not be well to confer the elective franchise on the more intelligent colored people of that state, especially on those who have fought in our ranks, as they might help to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom.

WASHINGTON, March 25, 1864—Gen. Grant has returned from his trip to the west, and without my asking or desiring any detailed statement informs me that there is to be a harmonious movement along the whole line (a point I have sought to attain ever since the war began), that Sherman will move against Johnston in Georgia, Gen. Butler will operate against Richmond south of the James river and that all other commanders will be instructed to

press the enemy as opportunity offers. Grant himself will take the field against Lee and continue to fight him until his army is either destroyed or captured.

I am much gratified to learn that the election held in Arkansas on the 14th inst. the new Constitution abolishing slavery was adopted by a handsome majority.

WASHINGTON, March 28, 1864.—I have always considered the emancipation proclamation as a military measure, and have earnestly desired Congress to take such action as would make the prohibition of slavery a part of our fundamental law; hence my great satisfaction over the fact that the Senate has to-day adopted a constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery within the limits of the United States and empowering Congress to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

WASHINGTON, May 4, 1864.—Soon after midnight to-day the army of the Potomac again started to Richmond, not to return, as I verily believe, until that city is captured and the rebel army is overthrown. Just before leaving Gen. Grant wrote me a letter, expressing his appreciation of the manner in which he had always been supported by the administration and assuring me that if his success should be short of his expectations, it would not be the fault of my administration.

The desperate situation of the Confederates is clearly shown in the recent conscription act passed by their Congress which calls into active service all white men between the ages of sixteen and sixty. Gen. Grant says they are robbing both the cradle and the grave to save their cause.

WASHINGTON, June 5, 1864.—When Gen. Grant reached the tableland south of the Rapidan known as the "Wilderness," he found Lee's army directly across his path, and after two days' severe fighting during which our losses in killed, wounded and prisoners amounted to nearly 20,000 men, instead of retreating back to Washington, he immediately started his army by the left flank in the direction of Spottsylvania, hoping to reach that position before Lee was aware of his purpose. In this, however, he was disappointed, for Lee, ever vigilant and alert and having a shorter line of march, arrived there first. A fierce fight of two days took place here with a great loss on each side, when Grant started on another movement in the direction

of Cold Harbor, where he arrived the first of June and made a terrible assault on Lee's center which was quickly repulsed, and in which several thousand of our men were killed or wounded in less than an hour. Our total losses in this campaign of one month will run into tens of thousands; it is estimated by some that they will equal Lee's total force at the beginning. Gen. Grant is severely criticised for this slaughter of his men; but he fully realizes that Lee's army can not be destroyed without hard fighting, and that fighting can not be made successful without overcoming obstacles that seem insurmountable and achieving results that seem impossible. Hence I have encouraged him to proceed in his great task without faltering, assuring him that the government and the people will sustain him to the end. As I have read all his dispatches and heard the various reports of his contests with the enemy, I have almost felt that every drop of blood that was shed came from my own body. I could not bear to contemplate the loss of so many men, if I had not devoted my own life, and nothing less than my life to the cause for which they bled and died, and had not laid both soul and body upon the altar of freedom and national unity. I surely ought to be willing to mingle my blood with theirs, if need be.

Several nights during this fearful month my dream has again come to me, in which I was caught in a fierce storm, and again saw it written in clear bright letters on the dark sky over my head, that the armies of the Union would triumph at last!

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1864. — At the Union Republican National Convention, which assembled in Baltimore on the 7th inst., I was nominated for president, all the states voting for me except Missouri. The platform adopted by the convention declares in most emphatic terms that the war must be prosecuted until the rebellion is suppressed, and that the institution of slavery must be "extirpated from the soil of the Republic." It also indorses the emancipation proclamation and my administration as a whole. I would be more than human, rather less than human, if I did not highly appreciate this mark of confidence. Looking back over the years I have been president, I am far from being satisfied with all my acts, and yet I am not sure that any one else could have managed the case better

that I have done; hencel knew no better response to give the committee of notification than that I did not think it would be wise to swap horses while crossing a stream of water!

WASHINGTON, June 15, 1864. — After his repulse at Cold Harbor, Gen. Grant decided to move his army to the south side of the James river and seek to flank Lee by the capture of Petersburg. He made the movement with great skill and with very little loss, but the assault on the rebel lines at Petersburg failed from various causes. However, he has secured a position on the enemy's flank from which he can not be dislodged, and the fall of Petersburg and with it the fall of Richmond is only a question of time.

WASHINGTON, June 20, 1864. — Most gladly have we learned that the ravages of the Confederate privateer, the "Alabama" have come to an end, she having been sunk by the "Kearsarge" in the English channel off the French coast.

WASHINGTON, June 28, 1864.—With great pleasure I have just signed the bill repealing the fugitive slave acts of 1793 and of 1850.

WASHINGTON, June 30, 1864. — My relations with Secretary Chase during the last year have been attended with more or less friction, and I have in a number of instances taken special pains to placate him in order to prevent his resignation. For some days past there has been a pretty sharp difference of opinion between us in reference to the collectorship of the port of New York, and although the matter was finally settled in his own way, he sent me his written resignation yesterday, with the manifest intention, as I interpret his action, to place me on my good behavior in the future. Today I have replied by accepting his resignation, informing him that while I have the same high appreciation of his ability and fidelity that I have always had, our official relations have reached a point of mutual embarrassment that is not for the good of the public service. Of all the public men I have ever known I consider Chase a man and a half in comparison with the best of them; but unfortunately for him, he has the same opinion of himself! I have never been anxious to measure up beside him myself; but the people have made me president instead of him, and I must abide their choice, whether he

enjoys abiding it or not! Nevertheless I believe he would make an excellent chief justice, should there be a vacancy in that office while I have power to make the appointment.

WASHINGTON, July 2, 1864.—Ex-Gov. David Tod, of Ohio, having declined the appointment of Secretary of the Treasury, I sent the name of William P. Fessenden, chairman of the Senate Finance committee, to the Senate today without consulting him. The nomination was at once confirmed, and after most earnest persuason, Mr. Fessenden accepted the appointment—and everybody seems satisfied. Under various acts of Congress we have outstanding $600,000,000 of legal tender notes, popularly known as "greenbacks"—but the people have not lost faith in their government!

WASHINGTON, July 18, 1864. — On account of our severe losses in the campaign of the summer I have been compelled to issue a call for 500,000 more men, with notice of draft in due season if volunteers can not be secured. The public debt on June 30th had reached the fearful sum of $1,740,000,000 and the premium on gold was over 150 percent; but whatever the cost may be, the war must go on until we conquer a peace. For verily the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it!

WASHINGTON, July 24, 1864. — The latest news from Gen. Sherman in Georgia is to the effect that he had crossed the Chattahoochee river and driven the rebel forces south to the vicinity of Atlanta, where he was attacked on the 22d inst. by Gen. Hood who had superseded Gen. Johnston by order of Jefferson Davis, the engagement resulting in Hood's repulse, although the noble and much beloved Gen. McPherson was killed early in the day—a most costly sacrifice!

WASHINGTON, August 1, 1864. — The recent seating of the Austrian Archduke Maximilian on the "throne" of Mexico by the army of the French Emperor Napoleon is a national humiliation that is very hard to endure, but our motto must be, "One war at a time." We must not intervene or even threaten to intervene until we can brush the Southern Confederacy aside; and when that is done I feel very confident that the people of the North and the people of the South will unite their voices in declaring that no monarchy shall ever be established or maintained

by any European power or powers on the soil of North America!

WASHINGTON, September 2, 1864.—The National Democratic Convention, which met in Baltimore on the 29th of August, nominated Gen. McClellan for President and George H. Pendleton, a former congressman from Cincinnati, Ohio, for Vice President. The platform adopted delares "that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the states or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the federal union of the states." McClellan's friends probably hope that an effective campaign can be made on the basis of his military record—which is mainly a record of victories never won and success never attained;—but this platform will plague them from now until election day, whether McClellan accepts it or not.

WASHINGTON, September 9, 1864.—Louisiana adopted a new constitution yesterday abolishing slavery and forbidding the legislature to pass any laws recognizing the right of property in man.

Gen. Sherman has furnished a very pertinent and significant answer to the resolution in the Democratic platform which declares the war a failure in a dispatch announcing that "Atlanta is ours and fairly won!" The capture of this city is a very important victory for our arms; but Hood's army is still intact, and will have to be destroyed or captured before peace is obtained.

WASHINGTON, September 10, 1864.—Gen. McClellan has written a letter, accepting the Democratic nomination for President but repudiating that portion of the platform which pronounces the war a failure. He declares that he "could not look in the faces of his army and navy comrades and say to them, that all their labors and the sacrifice of so many lives had all been in vain, and that we had surrendered the Union for which we had offered to give up our lives." Was ever a party platform so spat upon by a presidential candidate?

WASHINGTON, October 20, 1864.—Sheridan's forces on

Cedar Creek in the Shenandoah valley were surprised and attacked early yesterday morning by Gen. Early and driven back in great confusion and disorder. Fortunately, however, Sheridan, who was at Winchester 15 or 20 miles to the north hastened to the field, and after riding up and down the line of his troops and assuring them that the day was not lost, moved against Early and won a complete victory, driving the enemy out of the Shenandoah valley never to return, it is hoped. I have accordingly written to Sheridan, tendering him my own and the nation's thanks for the great service he rendered the country by his gallantry and heroic conduct.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Battle of Nashville and Sherman's March to the Sea!

Washington, November 10, 1864. — The presidential election took place on the 8th inst., with the result that I carried all the states that voted with the exception of Delaware, New Jersey and Kentucky, which gives me a majority of 400,000 on the popular vote and 212 electoral votes to McClellan's 21. I am particularly gratified that Maryland, after adopting a free constitution in October, gave me over 7,000 majority, and that Missouri gave me 70,000 votes, more than twice as many as McClellan received. The soldiers, so far as their votes have been returned, supported me in the ratio of three to one, which shows very clearly that they prefer to fight out the battle at the risk of their lives rather than return to their homes at the price of a dishonorable peace.

Washington, November 12, 1864.—In an address to the Republican Clubs of this city to-day I declared that so long as I have been here, I have not willingly planted a thorn in any person's bosom, and that while I am highly sensible of the high honor of a re-election, and duly grateful to Almighty God for having directed the people to what I consider a right conclusion, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man or men may be disappointed and pained by my election.

Washington, November 13, 1864. — We have re-

ceived a dispatch from Gen. Sherman stating that after leaving sufficient force with Gen. Thomas to resist Hood's threatened invasion of Tennessee, he was about to start with an army of 60,000 on his long contemplated movement to the sea coast, with the view of uniting his forces with the army of the Potomac for the capture of Richmond and the overthrow of Lee's army.

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1864.—In my annual message to Congress which assembled on the 6th inst. I urged the adoption by the House of Representatives of the 13th amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery throughout the United States, repeating my declaration of a year ago, that I would never retract the emancipation proclamation or return to slavery any persons who had been freed by it, and asserting that if the people by any mode or means should ever make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it.

I have sent to the Senate the nomination of Salmon P. Chase to be Chief Justice in place of Roger B. Taney, deceased, which nomination was at once confirmed. I feel confident Chase will adorn this position as fully as he has adorned every other position he has occupied.

WASHINGTON, December 17, 1864.—The gratifying news comes to us from Nashville that Gen. Thomas attacked the forces of Hood near that city on the 15th and 16th insts. and completely routed them, and that he is still in pursuit of them with a good prospect of completely destroying Hood's army.

This news is peculiarly gratifying to me from the fact that Gen. Grant was on the point of removing Gen. Thomas on account of his delay in making the attack. Gen. Thomas has not been as rapid in some of his movements as Gen. Grant desired, but he has been exceedingly faithful and efficient, and has never made a serious mistake or lost a fight in which he was engaged.

I have accordingly sent him my thanks and congratulations on account of the signal and important victory he has won.

WASHINGTON, December 26, 1864. — In response to Gen. Sherman's telegram of yesterday presenting me with the city of Savannah as a Christmas gift, I have written

him a letter in which I inform him that I was very anxious about the result when he left Atlanta for the Atlantic coast, and now that his undertaking has proved successful, the honor all belongs to him, and that the work of General Thomas in Tennessee being taken into account, AS IT SHOULD BE, it brings those who sat in darkness to see a great light. Gen Sherman's campaigns of the year prove him to be one of the greatest of military strategists, and his march to the Sea wil be told in song and story as long as this Republic lasts.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FORT FISHER—RICHMOND—PETERSBURG—FIVE FORKS—APPOMATTOX!

WASHINGTON, January 16, 1865.—Being much disappointed over Gen. Butler's failure to capture Fort Fisher at the mouth of the Cape Fear river, I caused an urgent request to be sent to Gen. Grant for another expedition against that Fort. Gen. Grant at once complied and placed a sufficient force under the command of Gen. Terry for that purpose; and on yesterday we received the news that the Fort was captured with about 2,000 prisoners. This victory will surely be followed by the capture of Wilmington some twenty-five miles up the river, which has been such a favorable port for blockade runners since the war began.

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1865.—The Confederate Congress has passed a bill placing Gen. Lee in supreme command of their armies; also a bill for the arming of their negroes. It is a trite saying that you can easily lead a horse to water, but you can not make him drink; so I might say that even if our enemies should arm all their negroes, they can not make them fight for the Confederacy.

WASHINGTON, January 24, 1865.—I dreamed last night that as I was walking on a crowded street of Chicago I heard a man pretty close to me remark in a rather sarcastic tone, "Why, he's a very common looking fellow." Upon which, supposing that he meant me, I turned to him in my dream and replied, "My friend, the Lord prefers common-looking people, that is why he made so many of them."

WASHINGTON, January 31, 1865.—The 13th amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery in the United States, which failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote in the lower house of the last Congress, was adopted to-day by the House of Representatives by a vote of 119 to 56, being seven more than the necessary two-thirds. All that is now needed to make this amendment a part of our fundamental law is its ratification by three-fourths of the states; and then this nation will enjoy "the new birth of freedom," that I prophesied in my Gettysburg address.

WASHINGTON, February 1, 1865.—I was very much gratified at receiving a telegram from Springfield today, stating that the Illinois Legislature had taken the lead in ratifying the Constitutional amendment that was adopted by the House of Representatives yesterday.

WASHINGTON, February 2, 1865.—After making the most diligent and careful preparations, Gen. Sherman started with the two wings of his army from Beaufort yesterday for a march through the Carolinas en route to a junction with Gen. Grant's forces. This surely means the doom of Lee's army, although Sherman will have many difficulties to overcome, and his former antagonist, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, has been placed in command of the forces opposed to him.

HAMPTON ROADS, February 3, 1865.—Seward and I met Alexander H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter and John A. Campbell, representatives of the Confederate government, here to-day, at their request, for a conference concerning the close of the war. We spent several hours in courteous conversation; but inasmuch as I informed them at the start that I could discuss no terms of peace with them except on the basis of the Confederate states laying down their arms immediately, and that I would never recede from the terms of the emancipation proclamation, and as they stated that Mr. Davis would never treat for peace on those terms, our conference closed with no result. In response to Mr. Hunter's mention of King Charles the First, who treated with his English subjects while they were in arms against him, I merely expressed my recollection that King Charles lost his head.

WASHINGTON, February 6, 1865.—In a Whig speech

that I once delivered on internal improvements I asserted that an honest laborer digs coal or earth for seventy cents a day, while the President digs abstractions at about seventy dollars a day, and that the coal or earth is worth far more than the abstractions. But since I have been President myself, I have found very little time for digging abstractions. Nearly everything I have dug has been very concrete, whether very valuable or not.

WASHINGTON, February 22, 1865. — Gen. J. M. Schofield, whose 23rd Army Corps was recently ordered east by Gen. Grant from Nashville, was placed in command in North Carolina by Gen. Grant as soon as he arrived, and at once moved on the city of Wilmington. After capturing Fort Anderson Gen. Schofield celebrated this anniversary of Washington's birthday by an unopposed entrance into that city, thus effectually closing the last seaport of rebeldom.

WASHINGTON, February 26, 1865. — Gov. Andrew Johnson yesterday issued his proclamation announcing that the new Constitution of Tennessee abolishing slavery was ratified by the people of that state on the 22 inst.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1865. — Received a telegram from Gen. Grant to-day stating that he had received overtures from Gen. Lee for a conference in reference to a settlement of our difficulties; and I at once replied by directing him to hold no conference with Gen. Lee, unless it be for the capitulation of his army or some other military matter, and that he is not to decide or discuss any political questions with the commander of the rebel forces.

I have signed the bill fixing a tax of ten per cent on the issues of all state banks, the object of which is to drive all paper money not issued by the government out of circulation and secure a uniform and wholly reliable currency for the whole country.

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1865.—Before writing the Inaugural address which I delivered to-day I spent considerable time re-reading and pondering the writings of the Hebrew prophets and the Psalms of King David. What a sense of the divine justice and judgments these old prophets had, and what preachers of justice and righteousness they all were. I also spent a good deal of time poring over the Sermon on the Mount and other portions of the

New Testament, especially St. Paul's sermon on Mars Hill near Athens.

Realizing that my position on the emancipation proclamation and the continued prosecution of the war was well known, that no particular outline of the policy to be pursued after the war is over could be given, and that I should neither feel nor express any exultation on account of my re-election, it came to me as a divine command that I should make known to the people, in as few words as possible, my convictions concerning the war in which we are engaged, and declare it a divine judgment on both the North and the South for the wrong of slavery which we have tolerated for more than two centuries.*

I also felt impelled—shall I say INSPIRED?—to express my feeling that we should continue the prosecution of the war without malice toward our enemies, and that the work of restoration after the war is over should be carried on with the utmost charity and good-will toward all the people, to the end that we may have perpetual peace among ourselves, and may, if possible, avoid all conflict with other nations. [See Appendix.]

In preparing and delivering this Inaugural I believe that the spirit of the Lord God was upon me as truly as it was upon the prophet Isaiah when he proclaimed the acceptable year of the Lord to the people of Israel; and I think it will last longer than anything I have produced, unless it be my Gettysburg address, which has already secured more attention and comment than I ever expected it would.

WASHINGTON, March 20, 1865.—The Confederate Congress adjourned two or three days ago, the members returning to their homes in a very despairing state of mind concerning the fate of their government. Vice President Stephens left Richmond for Georgia soon after our meet-

*Mr. Lincoln's second Inaugural address was characterized by a solemn religious tone, so free from earthly passion, that it seems as if his soul had parted from all earthly things and felt the powers of the world to come. It was the soliloquy of a great soul reviewing its course under a vast responsibility and appealing from all earthly judgments to the tribunal of Infinite Justice. It was a solemn clearing of his soul for the great sacrament of death!—HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

ing at Hampton Roads. I wonder what he thinks about human slavery as a "corner stone" of government in this nineteenth century?

City Point, Va., March 27, 1865.—By invitation of Gen. Grant Mrs. Lincoln and I have spent the last few days at this place making our home on the steamer "River Queen," this being almost the only relaxation I have had since my first inauguration. To-day I had the great pleasure of an interview with Gen. Sherman, who had come up from Goldsboro, and of expressing to him my appreciation of his great success in marching his army through the Carolinas. I have greatly enjoyed my visits to the camps of Grant's army and the acquaintance I have formed with many of his officers and soldiers.

Petersburg, Va., April 2, 1865.—This rebel stronghold having been evacuated by Gen. Lee on account of Sheridan's signal victory over his right wing at Five Forks on the 1st inst., I was invited by Gen. Grant to review his troops as they marched through the city to-day in pursuit of their retreating enemy. Last night I dreamed again that I read the triumph of our armies on the sky above my head, but it was a sky from which the clouds were fast disappearing, and instead of the words, "shall triumph at last," I read that our triumph is near at hand! And I thought I could read the same prophecy in the faces of all our soldiers, as they proudly marched through this city to-day; for Gen. Grant has assured them that he will not only pursue Lee but will surround him and compel him to surrender his whole army.

City Point, April 3, 1865.—On my return here to-day I learned that Mr. Davis while attending church on Sunday, the 2d inst., received a telegram from Gen. Lee informing him that on account of Sheridan's victory at Five Forks, Richmond would have to be evacuated. Davis and other Confederate officials left the city on the evening train for Danville, and to-day our forces under Gen. Weitzel have occupied it.

Richmond, Va., April 4, 1865. — Reached this city from City Point this forenoon and was escorted to Gen. Weitzel's headquarters in the same house occupied by Jefferson Davis the last four years. The colored population were very jubilant and greeted me with marked enthusiasm.

The city was in great confusion and disorder, and the tobacco warehouses that were set on fire by the Confederate authorities with some other buildings are still burning; but Gen. Weitzel is making the most vigorous efforts to restore order and to supply the people with the provisions of which most of them are in pressing need. I hope we will have no difficulty in convincing them that we have no desire to oppress or humiliate them, but that we rather desire to give them the blessing of free citizenship in a restored Union.

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1865.—A telegram was received from Gen. Grant to-day stating that after a week's continuous marching and fighting he had surrounded the rebel forces with both cavalry and infantry, and that Lee had surrendered his entire command of some 25,000 men as prisoners of war, with the agreement that they were to be paroled on signing a pledge not to take up arms against the United States until properly exchanged. While I can not indulge any feelings of exultation over the humiliation of our antagonists, I do rejoice with joy unspeakable that we are to have no more fighting or bloodshed, and that the Union of the North and South is to be perpetual.*

WASHINGTON, April 13, 1864.—After due consideration and consultation with Gen. Grant, orders have been issued by the War Department to stop all recruiting and remove all restrictions on trade and commerce with the South as far as may be consistent with the public safety. Our volunteer soldiers will also be mustered out of service very soon; for the ministering angel of peace has returned to our land!

WASHINGTON, April 14, 1865.—I have given a great deal of attention to the problem of reconstruction during the past year, and since the surrender of Lee's army I have thought of little else. I have always maintained that we should spend no time discussing the question whether the seceded states are in the Union or out of it, but that we should make all due haste to restore them to their normal functions and relations in our common government; and at a meeting of the Cabinet this forenoon

*Without doubt the greatest man of rebellion times, the one matchless among forty millions for the peculiar difficulties of the period, was Abraham Lincoln.—GEN. JAMES LONGSTREET.

I asked them all to give the subject their most careful consideration and give their views as to the best means of securing this object when we meet again on the 18th inst. I told them all explicitly that since more than 300,000 men on our side and at least 200,000 on the side of the South had lost their lives in battle or had died from disease during the war, enough blood had been shed, and that we would have no executions or reprisals or vindictive punishments, reciting to them the beautitudes of the New Testament and the familiar words of Shakespeare:

> "The quality of mercy is not strained,
> It droppeth as the gentle rain from Heaven
> Upon the place beneath. It is twice blessed;
> It blesseth him that gives and him that takes.
> It is enthroned in the heart of kings;
> It is an attribute to God himself;
> And earthly power doth them show likest God's,
> WHEN MERCY SEASONS JUSTICE!" *

I also informed the Cabinet and Gen. Grant, who was present, that I felt sure we would soon have good news from Sherman, for I had the same dream last night that I had before the battles of Murfreesboro, Antietam, Vicksburg and Gettysburg; namely, that I was sailing on a peculiar kind of vessel toward a dark shore, which receded from me whenever I approached it. I can not now imagine anything very important that is likely to happen but a battle between Sherman's and Johnston's forces or the surrender of Johnston's forces without a battle—but I am certain that something of importance will happen soon!

My supreme desire from the day of my first inauguration has been to see all the states of our Union united under one government and one flag; and I have now no other ambition than the privilege of presiding over the whole country during the coming four years and proving myself the friend of the South as well as the friend of the North. Then I will return to Springfield and earn my own bread by resuming the practice of law. I have no idea that the people will want me to serve them beyond

*Mr. Lincoln never abused his great power except on the side of mercy and humanity.—He is the gentlest memory of our earth!—ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

my second term, and even if they should, I would follow the example of Washington and decline any further burdens or honors.

I want the people of the South to come back to the old home, to sit down at the old fireside, to sleep under the old roof, and to labor and rest and worship God under the old flag. I have piloted our ship of state through the storms and stress of war for four long years; and now I rejoice to see her coming into port to receive the repairs she needs for future voyages under the skies of peace and prosperity. For four long years I have seen the flag of our Union riddled with bullets and torn with shell and trailed in the dust before the eyes of all the nations; and now I am hoping that it will please God to let me live, until I shall see that same flag, unsullied and untorn, waving over the greatest and most powerful nation of the earth—over a nation of freemen—OVER NO MASTER AND OVER NO SLAVE!

"'Tis the STAR SPANGLED BANNER, O long may it wave
O'er the land of the FREE and the home of the brave!"

But my heart is too full of rejoicing over the end of the war and the return of peace to enjoy that play at the theater tonight. If the people were not expecting me and I hadn't promised to be there, I wouldn't go. I would much rather stay at home————————

END OF "SUPPOSED DIARY."

APPENDIX

LINCOLN STORIES AND ANECDOTES.

Lincoln's cousin, Dennis Hanks, gives the following account of his birth and early childhood: "Tom and Nancy lived on a farm about two miles from us when Abe was born. I ricollect Tom comin' over to our house one cold mornin' in February an' sayin' kind o' slow, 'Nancy's got a boy baby.' Mother got flustered an' hurried up her work to go over an' look arter the little feller, but I didn't hev nuthin' to wait fur, so I cut and run the hull two miles to see my new cousin. Abe never was much fur looks. I ricollect how Tom joked about Abe's long legs when he was toddlin' round the cabin, an' he growed out o' his clothes faster'n Nancy could make 'em. Abe never giv Nancy no trouble after he could walk excep' to keep him in clothes. Abe was right out in the woods about as soon as he was weaned, fishin' in the crick, settin' traps fur rabbits and muskrats, goin' on coon hunts with Tom an' me an' the dogs, follerin' up bees to find bee trees, an' drappin' corn fur his daddy. He was mighty good comp'ny and interested in almost everything."

A very earnest Christian man once expressed the hope to Mr. Lincoln that the Lord was on our side in the contest against the rebellion. "I am not at all concerned about that," Lincoln replied, "but it is my constant hope and prayer that we may always be on the Lord's side!"

An officer who had some trouble with Gen. Sherman complained that Sherman had threatened to shoot him. "Threatened to shoot you?" Lincoln replied, "Well, if I were you, I would keep out of his way, for he will be very apt to do it!"

When Edwin M. Stanton was appointed Secretary of War, many people who knew his imperious temper feared he would "run away with the whole concern," but their anxiety only drew from Lincoln the reply: "We may have to serve him like they serve a Methodist preacher I know out west. He sometimes gets worked up to so high a pitch of excitement in his sermons and prayers that they have to put bricks in his pockets to keep him down. We may have to do the same with Stanton, but I guess we will let him jump around awhile first."

When Lincoln's family were moving from Indiana to Illinois, they had a little pet dog, which followed after the wagon. One day the little animal fell behind, and did not catch up until they had crossed a stream of water a foot or two deep. The water was running over the edges of the ice, and the dog was afraid to cross. "But I could not bear the idea of abandoning even a dog," relates Lincoln, "so pulling off my shoes and socks, I waded across the stream and returned with him in my arm. His frantic leaps of joy amply repaid me for the exposure I had undergone."

In replying to one of Douglas' speeches in which the Judge spoke of his confidence in Providence Lincoln said: "I suspect that Douglas' confidence is not more firmly fixed than that of the old woman whose horse ran away with her in the buggy. She said she "trusted in Providence till the brichen broke, and then she didn't know what on airth to do."

A member of Congress once came into Lincoln's presence in a state of intoxication, and quoted the first line of Lincoln's favorite poem, "Oh, why should the spirit of mortal man be proud?" "My dear sir," said Lincoln, eyeing him closely, "I see no reason whatever!"

Lincoln's stepmother not long before her death, said of him: "I can say what few mothers can say; Abe never gave me a cross word or look, and never refused to do anything I asked him. His mind and mine—what little I had—seemed always to run together. I had a son John who was raised with Abe. They were both good boys, but I can say, both being now dead, that Abe was the best boy I ever saw or expect to see."

One of Mr. Lincoln's Springfield neighbors relates the following: "I was called to the door one day by the cries of children in the street, and there was Mr. Lincoln striding by with his two little boys, both of whom were crying pretty loud. "What's the matter with the boys?" I asked. "Just what's the matter with the whole world," Lincoln replied; "I've got three walnuts, and each of them wants two."

A New York business house once applied to Lincoln for information concerning the financial standing of one of his Springfield neighbors and received this reply: "Mr. Blank has, first of all, a wife and baby, together they ought to be worth $50,000 to any man; second, he has an office containing a table worth, say $1.50, and three chairs worth $1.00; last of all, there is a rat hole in the corner that will bear looking into."

When Lord Lyons, the British ambassador at Washington, made a formal call on the President to announce the approaching marriage of the Prince of Wales, Lincoln responded by shaking the written paper containing the announcement at the bachelor minister and saying: "Lord Lyons, go thou and do likewise!"

A certain man once called on Mr. Lincoln requesting a pass to Richmond to whom Lincoln replied: "I should be very happy to accommodate you, but since I became President I have given passes to more than two hundred thousand men to go to Richmond and not one of them has ever got there!"

LINCOLN ANTHOLOGY.

In this senatorial contest Judge Douglas has every external advantage over me. All the politicians of his party expect him at some time to become President of the United States; consequently they see in his rotund, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land offices, marshalships, cabinet appointments and foreign missions, bursting

and sprouting out in wonderful luxuriance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President; and consequently in my lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out!—Speech at Springfield, July 17, 1858.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? If theAlmighty ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal, the American people.—Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861.

It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged.—Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865.

Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.—Address at Cooper Institute, New York City, February 27, 1860.

Truth to speak, I do not appreciate this matter of rank on paper as you officers do. The country knows that you fought the battle of Stone River, and what difference does it make whether you rank Gen. Grant, or he ranks you?—Letter to Gen. Rosecrans, March 17, 1863.

I have always thought that all men should be free; but if any men ought to be slaves, it should be first, those who desire slavery for themselves, and, secondly, those who desire it for others. Whenever I hear a man arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally.—Speech to an Indiana Regiment, March 17, 1865.

If we shall suppose American slavery to be one of those offences, which, in the Providence of God, must needs come, but which having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which believers in a living God have always ascribed to him?—Second Inaugural Address.

Do you know I am a military hero? In the days of the Black Hawk war I fought, bled — and came away!—Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848.

Peace does not appear so far distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay; and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal must lose their case and pay the costs.—Letter to a Meeting of Union Men at Springfield, Ills., August 26, 1863.

He who does something at the head of one Regiment will

eclipse him who does nothing at the head of a hundred.—Letter to General David Hunter, December 2, 1861.

I was never satisfied with the slowness of Buell and McClellan, but before I relieved them I feared I should not find better successors, and I have little as yet to relieve those fears.—Letter to Carl Shurz, November 24, 1862.

Very few men are flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them!—Letter to Thurlow Weed, March 9, 1865.

I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I do not remember when I did not so think and feel. * * * I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me.—Letter to A. C. Hodges, April 4, 1864.

You can fool all of the people some of the time and some of the people all the time; but you can not fool all the people all the time.—Speech at Clinton, Ills., Sept. 8, 1858.

Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequitted toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid with another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so must it still be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."—Second Inaugural Address. [Could Mr. Lincoln have expressed himself in this manner, if the shadow of his tragic fate was not resting on his soul, and he had not received some sort of premonition that his own blood must be placed in the scales of the Eternal Justice?]

Let every young man choosing the law for a calling resolve to be honest at all events, and if in his own judgment, he can not be an honest lawyer, let him resolve to be honest without being a lawyer.—Notes for a Law Lecture, July 1, 1850.

I am very glad that the elections this fall have gone favorably and that I have not, by native depravity, or under evil influences, done anything bad enough to prevent the good result. I hope to "stand firm" enough not to go backward and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause.—Letter to Zachariah Chandler, Nov. 20, 1863.

The signs look better. Vicksburg has fallen; and the Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea!—Letter to J. C. Conkling, Aug. 26, 1863.

Mrs. Lincoln declares that your soap is a superior article, but she protests that I have never given sufficient attention to the soap question to be a competent judge.—Letter to Prof. Gardner, Sept. 28, 1860.

I can not fly from my thoughts; my solicitude for this great cause follows me wherever I go.—Interview with John T. Mills. Aug. 15, 1864.

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan; to do all that may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations!—SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

TRIBUTES TO LINCOLN.

Again a great leader of the people has passed through toil, sorrow, battle and war, and come near to the promised land of peace, into which he might not pass over! By day and by night he trod a way of danger and darkness; and on his shoulders rested a government dearer to him than his own life. Upon thousands of hearts great sorrows have rested; but not on one such and in such manner as upon that simple, truthful, faithful soul. He wrestled ceaselessly through four blackened, purgatorial years, wherein God was cleansing the sin of his people as by fire. At last the darkness broke, and the morning of peace dawned upon us. Then it was for him to be glad exceedingly that had sorrowed so immeasurably. Peace could bring to no other heart such joy, such rest, such honor, such gratitude; but he looked upon it as Moses looked upon the promised land. * * Rest, O weary heart. Rejoice exceedingly, thou who hast enough suffered. Thou hast beheld Him, who invisibly led thee in this great wilderness. Thou standest among the elect, and thy home is with the spirits of the just made perfect. Around thee are all the heroes and saints who have ennobled human life in every age; and joy is upon thee forevermore!—HENRY WARD BEECHER.

Lincoln was a man of profound and intense religious feeling. From that morning, when, standing amid the falling snowflakes on the railway car at Springfield, he asked the prayers of his neighbors, to the memorable hour, when he humbled himself before his Creator in the sublime words of the second inaugural, there was not an expression from his lips or his pen but proves that he held himself answerable in his every act to a more august tribunal than any on earth. The fact that he was not a member of any church and was singularly reserved in reference to his personal religious life gives only the greater force to these striking proofs of his profound reverence and faith.—NICOLAY AND HAY'S "LIFE OF LINCOLN."

Mr. Lincoln has furnished the American people a statesman without a stateman's craftiness, a politician without a politician's meanness, a ruler without the pride of place or power, an ambitious man without selfishness, and a successful man without vanity. —J. G. HOLLAND.

God brought up Lincoln as he brought up David from the sheep folds to feed Jacob, his people, and Israel, his inheritance. And he fed us faithfully and truly. He fed us with counsel when we were in doubt, with inspiration when we sometimes faltered, with caution when we would be rash, with calm, clear trustful

cheerfulness through many dark days and hours. At the last behold him with his hand reached out to feed the South with mercy and the North with charity, and the whole land with peace, when the Lord who had sent him called him home, and his work was done!—PHILLIPS BROOKS.

Mr. Lincoln's face was the saddest one I ever painted. And yet he always had a kind word for every one and almost always a genial smile, and he frequently relieved his feelings by some harmless pleasantry. "IF I HAD NOT THIS VENT FOR MY FEELINGS, I SHOULD DIE!" he exclaimed on one occasion.—F. B. CARPENTER.

Then his BROAD GOOD HUMOR, in which he delighted, and in which he excelled, was a rich gift to this wise man. It enabled him to keep his secret, to meet every kind of man and every rank in society, to take off the edge of the severest decisions, to mask his own purpose and sound his companion and to catch with true instinct the temper of every company he addressed.—R. W. EMERSON.

From the union of these colonists, the puritans and cavaliers, from the straitening of their purposes and the crossing of their blood, slow perfecting through the centuries, came he who stands as the FIRST TYPICAL AMERICAN, the first who comprehended in himself all the strength and gentleness, all the majesty and grace of this Republic, Abraham Lincoln! He was the sum of puritan and cavalier; for in his ardent nature were fused the virtues of both, and in the depths of his great soul the faults of both were lost. He was greater than puritan, he was greater than cavalier, in that he was American, in that in his homely form were gathered all the vast and thrilling forces of this ideal government of ours, charging it with such tremendous meaning and so elevating it above human suffering, that martyrdom, though infamously aimed, came at last as a fitting close to a life consecrated from its cradle to human liberty!—HENRY W. GRADY.

Abraham Lincoln achieved more in American statesmanship than any other president, legislator, or diplomat in the history of the Republic; and he has written the most lustrous records of American history.—COL. A. K. MCCLURE.

In Lincoln we first saw rude vigor, then tempered strength, then a great human spirit, touched with the pathos of infinite patience and sorrow; an ideal American, who had climbed from the bottom to the top, who had educated himself by the way and in becoming supremely great ~~had~~ remained supremely human!—HAMILTON W. MABIE.

The memory of the Martyr-President will always be green in the hearts of his countrymen; and paeans will be sung to his virtues for endless ages. His tomb will forever be surrounded with a WALL OF LIVING HEARTS; and over it shall wave in perpetual beauty and grandeur the flag of the nation that he died to save.—ANONYMOUS.

A certain humorist, himself in high position, is said to have affirmed that Governors and Presidents must needs grow emphatic and more or less profane in office. And yet there has been at least one clear-sighted President, whose mind and style grew steadily finer instead of coarser, and whom vast responsibilities made more patient and more considerate of differences of opinion and policy. Let Lincoln's victory in the great ordeal be a happy augury for his latest successor. — Prof. Bliss Perry in Century Magazine.

To say that during the four years of Lincoln's administration he filled the vast space allotted him in the eyes and actions of mankind, is to say that he was inspired of God; for in no other way could he have acquired such wisdom and virtue. Where did Shakespeare get his genius? Where did Mozart get his music? Whose hand smote the lyre of the Scottish plowman and stayed the life of the German priest? The hand of God, and of Him alone; and as surely as these were inspired of God, Lincoln was. And a thousand years hence no, no drama, no tragedy, no epic poem, will be filled with greater wonder, or be followed by mankind with deeper feeling than that which tells the story of his life and his death!—Henry Watterson.

The ship is safely anchored, its voyage closed and done;
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won!
Exult, O shores, and ring, O bells! but I, with mournful tread,
Walk the deck my captain lies, fallen cold and dead!

Walt. Whitman.

I like to look upon Mr. Lincoln as a tree on the summit of a mountain, lofty and grand, a tree of fadeless green and immortal beauty. I like to behold him as a star in the sky, shining evermore and growing brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. And lifting my eyes still upward, I can see him standing beside the great white throne of Heaven, and at the right hand of him who sitteth thereon, his homely face all luminous and radiant with the love of human kind, and his great arms ever stretched forth to welcome to their eternal home the spirits of all those who fought to save this glorious Union. And with the same infinite charity that he always manifested here on the earth, I can also see him welcoming the spirits of those who fought against us; for are we not all citzens of the same country and children of the same Infinite Father in Heaven? And in that realm of light and beauty and glory, comrades and fellow citizens, methinks the Star Spangled Banner will always wave over his head—and ours!—The Author.

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